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THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 7, 1970 35 cents

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Peter S. Stern

THE NETWORKS: FIRST ROUND TO AGNEW M. L. Stein

MELMAN ON THE PENTAGON / Richard F. Kaufman
THOMPSON ON FROST / Roberts W. French
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LETTERS

prisoners and public relations

Asheville, N. C.

DEAR SIRS: No one could want the release of U.S. prisoners in Indochina more than I. In fact, all prisoners of war, theirs and ours, should be freed. . . . It is clearly a waste of the U.S. taxpayers' money, nonetheless, for President Nixon to send former astronaut Frank Borman *barnstorming* around the world in a so-called effort to free our prisoners in Indochina. The President must know that this bizarre act is likely to hinder the honest efforts of peace organizations to free at least some prisoners, as they have succeeded in doing in a few instances in the past. The Indochinese leaders are certain to label this "mercy" effort for what it is, a political ploy. . . .

The President can secure the release of all U.S. prisoners in Indochina any day he really wishes. . . . The fact —often proclaimed by his supporters—that Mr. Nixon did not start this war—is now irrelevant, as is the fact that earlier, when he was Vice President, he urged President Eisenhower to enter the war. The important fact is: It is *now his war.* And only he can end it, short of the unlikely event of the abject surrender of the Indochinese. . . .

The war the U.S. Government is waging in Indochina is in violation of our Constitution and our commitments under the United Nations Charter. This war is being waged against a people who have never attacked us, or threatened our security in any way. . . .

These facts raise the ugly question of the legal and moral status of our prisoners in Indochina. Obviously, they were engaged in killing, maiming or wounding Indochinese when captured, whether they knew this was illegal and immoral or regardless of how unwillingly they may have been doing so. Thus, reluctantly and unhappily, I must conclude that they have no legal standing under international law or moral standing before a civilized world.

Why then should they be released before the U.S. Government ends its war against the Indochinese people? . . . Much more important even than the release of our prisoners and the loss of the world's respect, however, is the prevention of World War III. And every day this war *continues* the danger of this catastrophe *increases.*

Hugh B. Hester, Brig. Gen., U.S. Army (Ret.)

society's best students

Toronto, Canada

DEAR SIRS: Students who put higher priority on society's needs than on their own advancement sometimes have trouble continuing as students. They may lose school or government scholarships; they may be expelled and have to start over in another university. Or they may simply have difficulty getting back into the routine after a few years of full-time work in the movement. Some of our best young people are handicapped by the very difference that makes them especially important to help.

Clearly we need a scholarship fund that directs itself to these students. The problem is not new; the Marian Davis Scholarship Fund has been trying to deal with it. In a little more than eight years it has given out more than $80,000 to fifty-three men and women. Since many of these were supported for more than one year, evidently the grants were pretty small. Nevertheless many socially concerned people kept up studies they might otherwise have had to drop.

The magnitude of the problem seems to have sharply increased in the last year. The Marian Davis Scholarship Fund would like to expand its activities. This will require new contributors. It will also require that we hear of the movement students who should be helped. Please pass the word. The address is c/o Chandler Davis, 85 Crescent Road, Toronto 289, Canada.

Chandler Davis
Howard Zinn

EDITORIALS

Labor, 1970

Throughout the cold-war years, it has been difficult to greet the annual observance of Labor Day with much enthusiasm. To be sure there have been good reasons, as always, to be grateful to the labor movement; but the general conservatism of labor has made it difficult to cheer the parades, much less to join them.

This year there are two solid reasons for enthusiasm. One is the triumph of Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in its bitter five-year campaign to win recognition from the table grape growers in California (see article p. 167). Not only has the union won a significant moral victory—by demonstrating the potency of nonviolence at a time when such a demonstration was sorely needed—but it has made a major advance for the labor movement. The UFWOC has an estimated membership of 22,000, which is the largest for a farm workers union in U.S. labor history. And now that a pact has been made with the Teamsters in the Salinas "salad bowl," the membership should more than double. Beyond California, excellent organizational opportunities beckon in Florida and South Texas; the national potential, which it will take time to test, could be very large indeed.

Inherent difficulties—seasonal employment, the absence of protective legislation, the migratory nature of much farm work, strenuous employer opposition—have frustrated dozens of attempts to organize farm workers over a period of nearly a century. The key to the grape pickers' success is to be found in their skillful use of the boycott, which has usually been invoked (and not often successfully) as a means by which a beleaguered union has appealed for fraternal support from members of other unions. UFWOC made a nationwide appeal, not alone to the labor movement but to the general public. The attempt might not have succeeded but for the shrewd leadership of Chavez, financial and other support from organized labor, strong backing from the churches, significant political assistance from a number of Senators (both Kennedys, Mondale, Williams and others), and the fact that the public had been previously, and thoroughly, educated about farm labor in California. The LaFollette Committee hearings, and the publication of such books as *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Factories in the Field,* had created a favorable national opinion to which the grape workers could appeal.

UFWOC's triumph in California should be paired with the remarkable success of Local 1199 of the Drug & Hospital Workers in New York. In a score of cities this union—the counterpart of Chavez's UFWOC in many respects—has made significant progress this last year in organizing hospital workers, who are often as disadvantaged as farm workers. Both unions have succeeded, and for much the same reasons, in organizing workers in occupations that have been historically difficult to organize. Farm workers are excluded from the National Labor Relations Act, and so are hospital workers in nonprofit hospitals. But both unions have been able to offset this and other handicaps. Both have excellent records for welcoming all workers regardless of color, of treating

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them fairly, and of observing democratic procedures. Both have taken a broad view of the welfare and interests of their members; both recognize that unions do not thrive on bread alone. Both have succeeded in capturing the imagination of that section of the general public which would like to be allied with the labor movement. Both have memberships of about the same size at present, but in each instance the national potential is very large. By arousing widespread interest and support, both unions have contributed more to the labor movement than it has contributed to them.

The success of these unions is proof enough that the labor movement is still a progressive force in society and that it can marshal significant public support if it will raise standards to which its natural allies can rally with enthusiasm.

The Pentagon Mess

On August 20 Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard spoke in Los Angeles at a dinner of the Armed Forces Management Association. He was dining with friends—at least before he began his speech. Coming into office with $300 million of his own, earned largely as an electronics defense contractor, Packard was no outsider. What he said to his colleagues, he on the government side, they representing the contractors, was sensational in the extreme. "Frankly, gentlemen, we have a real mess on our hands." Such blunt language is not often heard from an official who has only one superior in the Pentagon. Moreover, the unpleasant declaration came also from the top man, for Secretary Laird had seen the speech and okayed it.

The *CBS Evening News* with Walter Cronkite featured the Packard speech and quoted at length: "The lesson that comes through loud and clear is that we should buy only what we need, not weapons you or anyone else think they can develop to do something that doesn't need to be done. The Defense Department has been led down the garden path for years on sophisticated systems that you promised would do all kinds of things for some optimistic cost. Too frequently we have been wrong in listening to you, and more frequently you have been unable to deliver on either of these promises—what it would do or what it would cost." Packard was not trying to exculpate the Pentagon. "Of course, we share this blame together," he acknowledged. Just the same, there must have been a heavy consumption of antacid stomach remedies after that dinner.

In general, however, the media gave it little space. The mess in defense procurement contains no thrills. The taxpayers are apparently resigned to the waste of the money they shell out year after year. Under the rubric of "defense," almost anything goes. The country has become accustomed to a system of procurement which is in large part simply a gigantic government-supported racket.

A shining example of what passes for efficiency and rectitude in defense contracting is the case of General Dynamics Corporation, which *The Wall Street Journal* dealt with at length on August 24. General Dynamics, the third largest defense contractor, is hardly in better

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The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1970 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. West Coast office: 825 South Barrington Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. 90049. **Second class** postage paid at New York, N. Y. **Address all manuscripts and editorial correspondence to the New York office.**

Subscription Price: One year, $10; two years, $18. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give five weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION

Volume 211
No. 6

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shape than Lockheed, defense leader, which is appealing piteously to the Pentagon to share its losses, if not to take them over altogether. The argument runs that, were it not for such Pentagon helpmates as Lockheed and General Dynamics, the Chinese Communist hordes would be overrunning the United States.

One of General Dynamics'—and the Pentagon's—troubles is the F-111 fighter-bomber. So far, fourteen F-111s have crashed, killing nine crewmen. The aircraft falls far short of performance specifications, and the government has decided to cut the original order for 2,400 down to about 530. Another blow is that General Dynamics, which has always done well with its Electric Boat submarine manufacturing subsidiary, decided to expand into surface ship manufacturing and bought a big shipyard at Quincy, Mass., which turned out to be a consistent money loser. An electronics subsidiary, Stromberg-Datagraphix, has also been ailing. General Dynamics hoped for a bit of sunshine by way of the $1.8-billion B-1 bomber contract, but North American Rockwell landed that one.

All these, in part at least, might have been regarded as honorable business losses—although in defense, as in business generally, no one loves a loser. However, there is also a nasty side to the tribulations of General Dynamics. Three former employees are under federal indictment on charges of having conspired with subcontractors to "sneak defective parts past government inspectors and into the assembly of the ill-fated F-111," in the words of Mr. Pinkerton. The defective parts may have had nothing to do with the crashes, as the company says, but one of the indicted men is suing General Dynamics and the F-111 subcontractors, charging that he was ordered not to reject defective parts. If the plaintiff should win his suit, the troubles of General Dynamics would be further aggravated, if that is possible.

Such matters were on Mr. Packard's mind when he wrote his speech, by hand, and let the defense industry representatives have it straight from the shoulder. An official close to him said that it has taken him nineteen months to get to the bottom of the Pentagon mess, and now he is going to start cleaning it up. One can only wish him Godspeed.

Rent-a-Troop

The efforts of Senator Fulbright and other critics of the Administration to block further American involvement in Southeast Asia deserve the utmost commendation, but success seems unlikely. It is difficult to see how Congress can really curb a President who is determined to wage undeclared war.

The excuse for the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. troops was that it had become necessary to protect our troops in South Vietnam, and to bring them back to the States as the South Vietnamese took over the burden of the ground war. Under popular pressure, led by student activists, Mr. Nixon set a deadline for the withdrawal of American ground forces from Cambodia. Subsequently, under a smoke screen of clumsy semantics and what *The Washington Post* calls "creeping rationale," we are in effect deepening the American involvement in Cambodia in precisely the way that critics predicted. A child can read the deceptions embodied in the script that is offered as justification for Administration policy.

As many as fifty U.S. planes daily are flying close support missions in aid of the Cambodian army, which has yet to win a major action in the field. The talk about planes being used only to "interdict" enemy supplies has reached a new high in dishonesty. As Senator Mansfield notes, some of the targets are "one hell of a way from the Ho Chi Minh Trail." As all of us must do who expect even occasional sidelights on the Executive decision-making process, he deplores the failure of the Nixon Administration to "call things as they are."

These air strikes are increasing. Military authorities refuse to disclose the number of sorties, but correspondents report twenty-five a day in July, forty-nine a day during the first few days in August, and toward the end of August, sixty-five a day. Recent reports leave no doubt that the President has given the Air Force authority to strike North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops and supplies anywhere in Cambodia.

We are fighting the war by proxy on the ground, as well as giving unstinting support by air. The following examples of what Senator Young of Ohio calls the "Nixon Rent-a-Troop Doctrine" can be counted:

(1) Tammy Arbuckle describes in the Washington *Star* (August 21) how the United States is "stepping up secret operations in Cambodia with guerrilla teams directed by the Central Intelligence Agency. . . ." Earlier stages of American intervention in South Vietnam and Laos are being repeated in Cambodia.

(2) There are some 20,000 South Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, fighting in support of the Cambodian army which by itself, and without American air power, would be helpless to resist the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. We pay for the South Vietnamese forces indirectly.

(3) Thai "volunteers" are in Laos and arrangements are under way for 5,000 "volunteers" to be sent to Cambodia. We will pay for these troops, or they will not be sent. Let it be noted that under the SEATO treaty we are pledged to come to the aid of Thailand, if that country's efforts on behalf of the Lon Nol government should invite retaliation.

(4) The South Vietnamese and the Americans are in the process of adding about three divisions to the National Khmer Army. These forces are being recruited, equipped and trained in South Vietnam—naturally at American expense.

Vice President Agnew announced on August 23 that "we are going to do everything we can to help the Lon Nol government." For once Mr. Agnew was being candid. In fact, he was understating our purpose. As he spoke, we were already doing everything possible to shore up the Lon Nol regime. Nor does the Administration rule out the possibility that American ground troops may return to Cambodia, should that be deemed necessary to protect American troops in Vietnam. The script is completely elastic in its provisions

From a moral standpoint, the "war by proxy" is even more obnoxious than direct action by American powers, but of course Nixon, Agnew, et al., have no interest in that aspect. From their standpoint, the war by proxy has the supreme advantage of keeping American casualties

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at a level which will avoid a public revulsion of the kind that caused President Johnson's political downfall.

That this scheme has so far been successful is partly the fault of the press. For the most part, the editors and publishers cooperate with the Administration. There are some fine reporters on the scene—T. D. Allman for instance (he was expelled from Cambodia for that very reason)—and they supply the facts, but the papers tend to play down their findings. Allman quotes a neutralist ambassador in Pnom Penh: "From the very beginning, Lon Nol and Sirisk Matak were absolutely confident that the United States would rescue them." But the ordinary American never hears such things.

If he did, the struggle in the Senate to control the war makers might gain popular support. Of all the Senate moves, the most realistic is the Hatfield-McGovern end-the-war amendment. It provides for a systematic, planned military withdrawal by a fixed date. It also is the safest way to get the troops out. But the Administration still hopes to win the war, as Mr. Agnew said with only slight disguise in one of his jingoistic speeches. The only remedy at hand would seem to be to roll up impressive anti-Administration majorities in November. Severe setbacks would alarm Mr. Nixon and his coadjutors, and their fears for 1972 might make them more amenable to Senate control.

Undercurrents

It would be difficult to imagine a recent Congressional election which has been as superficially reported as the 1970 election has been to date. The surface facts have been presented, to be sure, but this is an election in which the sub-surface facts may turn out to be unusually significant.

Last week we described the extraordinary goings-on in the Democratic Party of Washington State, in the course of which Senator Jackson was seriously rattled, if not effectively challenged. This, we submit, constitutes political news. If the GOP had nominated Gov. Dan Evans, the defeat of Jackson would be within the realm of the politically feasible. Only the "illicit love affair" between Jackson and Nixon (Jackson was reported to have been offered the job of Secretary of Defense) promises to save Jackson's hide this time around.

Wyoming. The national press, without exception, heralded Sen. Gale McGee's 4-to-1 win over state Sen. D. P. (Mike) Svilar as an easy triumph. So it seemed—if one had never followed Wyoming politics. Actually, Wyoming was making news. Svilar, a peace candidate, the first in the state's history, had challenged McGee and in the process had polled one-fourth of the vote. The news is not that McGee won, but that he was challenged by an "authentic" peace candidate, a native of Hudson, Wyo., population 400, son of a Yugoslav immigrant who settled there circa 1910, graduated from New Mexico State University in mechanical engineering, served in the Air Force after graduation in 1952, and after discharge as a first lieutenant in 1954 enrolled in the University of Wyoming law school and got himself elected to the state Senate. Svilar is no isolationist, but he is a sharp critic of U.S. foreign policy who traversed the vast stretches of Wyoming, talking to handfuls of voters to poll that one-fourth of the vote.

The lesson of Wyoming is the same as the lesson of Washington. If the Republicans had named a candidate of larger mold than Rep. John Wold, they would have had a good chance of picking up the Svilar vote. As it is, the Svilar supporters are likely to stay home. Yet the fact that McGee was challenged is as significant as that Jackson was challenged.

Minnesota. Here the news is that Hubert H. Humphrey, one of the founding fathers of ADA and its national chairman in 1949-50, failed to win the state ADA endorsement. He may get it after the primary but he hasn't got it now. Earl Craig, a 31-year-old lecturer in Black political philosophy at the University of Minnesota, is offering the same kind of challenge to Humphrey that was offered to Jackson and McGee. The challenge is no bigger than a man's fist today, but it deserves to be watched. No doubt Humphrey will win, but it is the fact of opposition that counts.

New York. Allard Lowenstein has acquired a national following, but in his own district he faces a tight race. Twelve Republican Congressmen have appeared on Lowenstein's forums, indicating support for him, although they are in no position to endorse him. Rep. Bob Wilson (R., Calif.) growls, "I don't like it a bit. I'm going to have to look into this." If he looks hard enough, what he may see is the growing likelihood, at some time in the future, of a fusion of certain types of Republicans with sympathetic types of Democrats.

Of course there is always an element of the bizarre in any national election and the antecedent primaries. At the grotesque banquet for Rep. Mendel Rivers, the chief greeter was Vice President Agnew, all sweetness and love toward his comrade in profitable chauvinism. One might deduce that our dominant parties need a bit of realigning.

Rights of a Gadfly

Attempts by regents to muzzle the faculty (see "Berkeley's Meddlesome Regents" by Bettina Aptheker, p. 169) are not confined to higher education in California. At the moment, Maurice Zeitlin, a member of the sociology department at the University of Wisconsin and an eloquent foe of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, is deeply embroiled with that institution's board of regents.

Last spring, Zeitlin applied for a leave of absence from his department to accept a visiting professorship at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Shortly thereafter, the Ford Foundation offered him a grant for research and he then withdrew from the California position. But like all such grants from the Ford Foundation, this was offered through the university, and the Wisconsin board of regents refused to accept it. The head of the board, Dr. James Nellen (he is team physician for the Green Bay Packers), accused Zeitlin of soliciting the grant and of failing to meet his obligations at Santa Barbara. He is also quoted as saying that Zeitlin advocates "a complete destruction of society."

As the Madison *Capital Times* points out, one does not apply for grants; one is nominated by one's professional

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colleagues. And Zeitlin has stated that the University of California knew that the grant was in the wind when it discussed the temporary post with him. For a time it looked as though Zeitlin would be unsalaried for the 1970-71 academic year, but then the administration found that, though granted leave by his department, he was still technically on the University of Wisconsin roster, and "private" funds have been found to pay him.

The concluding comment of the *Capital Times* can scarcely be improved upon: "We have not always agreed with Zeitlin and we have found his tactics often abrasive. But we find the repressive tactics of Nellen and the regents even more so. The treatment of Zeitlin . . . touches a citizen's constitutional right to say what he believes. That is what really irritates Nellen and his Republican friends on the board of regents."

Memo to the Chemists

Members of the chemistry department at Cornell University are circulating a petition urging the American Chemical Society to support Senate ratification of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, the purport of which is to outlaw first-strike use of chemical and biological weapons. This treaty has been ratified by eighty-four nations, leaving the United States and Japan as the only major holdouts. According to a pamphlet on "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam," published by the Cornell group, the major lobbies against interdiction of chemical and biological warfare (CBW) are the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Army Chemical Warfare Service and the American Chemical Society.

The pamphlet gives numerous instances of reckless use of defoliants, herbicides, crop-destroying preparations, and other chemical warfare agents in Vietnam. That these compounds have served immediate military purposes is very likely, but they have been used with little or no regard for long-term consequences. As practiced by the United States, chemical warfare is an outstanding instance of the devastation of a technologically helpless nation by a technologically advanced one, a form of atrocity in which we have assumed an unenviable leadership.

As of March 1969, more than 4.9 million acres have been defoliated and more than 600,000 acres of crops destroyed. This area comprises some 12 per cent of the entire area of South Vietnam, including mountains, jungles and cities. Chemicals that are not authorized for application in the United States have been sprayed in large amounts in Vietnam, and presumably their use will be extended to Cambodia.

The perils of the nuclear arms race are generally recognized, but the CBW race has been largely ignored. The recent disposal of thousands of tons of American-manufactured nerve gas in the Atlantic marks a momentary break in the policy of secrecy. It is deplorable that the United States should continue to procrastinate in the matter of the Geneva Protocol, and doubly deplorable that a learned society should fail to go on record in favor of ratification. Self-serving policy of this sort feeds the general condemnation of science and technology that is on the rise in this country.

The Dilettante

The taped interviews which are being added to the archives that will ultimately find their way into the John F. Kennedy Library—or those of them which have been made public thus far—have added a new dimension of interest and relevance to the official record. For example, one learns that after his election President Kennedy called on Dean Acheson in Georgetown and indicated that he might appoint Sen. J. W. Fulbright as his Secretary of State. Fulbright, he said, "ran the Foreign Relations Committee pretty well and seemed to know a good deal about foreign affairs." Acheson advised against the appointment. The Senator, he warned, was "not as solid and serious a man as you need for this position. I've always thought that he had some of the qualities of a dilettante. He likes to criticize—he likes to call for brave, bold new ideas and he doesn't have a great many brave, bold new ideas." But he could suggest just the man for the job—a man Mr. Kennedy did not know—Dean Rusk, who was "strong and loyal and good in every way." (*Newsweek*, August 31.)

There has always been an implausible quality about the Rusk appointment. Why would the President name as Secretary of State—even assuming that he intended to direct his own foreign policy—a man of whom he knew so little? The Acheson endorsement, while it may not have been conclusive, provides a partial answer.

In the wake of news stories about the Acheson interview, Senator Fulbright caught everyone more or less off guard by proposing that the United States enter into a bilateral guarantee of the territory and independence of Israel within the borders of 1967. As James Reston pointed out in *The New York Times*, it was "a surprising proposal from a surprising source at a surprising time." In fact it might qualify as a brave, bold new idea if Mr. Acheson had not assured us that Senator Fulbright has few such ideas. One can question the timing of the proposal. One can question the suggestion that the United Nations should impose a peace agreement. One can feel, too, that the United States should offer no guarantee until the parties immediately concerned have entered into a binding agreement to abjure war. But the proposal is, as Reston notes, worth considering; more specifically, it is worth filing for future reference. Senator Fulbright has said what needs to be said—namely, that this country has an obligation to prevent the destruction of Israel, a state it helped bring into being. This obligation cuts deeper than "national interest" or strategic consideration. So a proposal of this sort, advanced by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who can hardly be described as pro-Zionist, should be some assurance to the Israelis. Senator Fulbright, one may be sure, did not expect the proposal to make much headway just now; it is, in any case, premature. All the same the proposal is merely another aspect of Fulbright's thinking and leadership in foreign affairs that makes us wish this "dilettante" had been Secretary of State during the years that post was held by Dean Rusk. Perhaps even President Kennedy had second thoughts about whether he should have taken Acheson's advice or followed his own first impulse.

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A Sprig of Peace

United Nations

D-day has finally arrived for the launching of the Jarring mission, thirty-three months after a Security Council resolution invited the UN special representative "to promote agreement to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement" of the Middle East conflict.

This new chapter in the history of the Palestine question marks the beginning of a long and very difficult road, with boulders and precipices on the way, and no sure end in sight. Yet the very facts that Ambassador Gunnar Jarring is now holding these talks and that a cease-fire has been generally in effect in the Suez Canal Zone since August 1 testify to the possibility of achieving the seemingly impossible. For this, full credit must be given to a joint decision by the United States and the Soviet Union that the escalation in the Middle East had to be stopped before it led to the danger of a military confrontation between them. Indeed, the superpowers may well be looking further ahead to an agreement between them on the Middle East, which would even police borders in that part of the world, as the recent Soviet-German treaty stabilizes the situation in Europe.

The Rogers Plan, which is now being implemented, came about as a result of prolonged talks in the spring between Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco and Soviet Ambassador Anatolyi Dobrynin, after Israel increased the depth of its attacks into the Nile Valley to prevent further Egyptian military build-up, and the Soviet Union decided to intervene with missiles and airmen in order to check Israeli penetration.

The United States and the Soviet Union pushed the Rogers Plan down the throats of their respective client states, who came to realize that their dependence on military hardware required them to cooperate. The eighteen days President Nasser spent in Moscow must have been for him an exercise in humility, while the deaf ear lent by Washington to Israeli complaints of Egyptian missile bases confirmed for Mrs. Golda Meir the determination of the United States to get the peace talks started.

It can be expected that the big powers, with Britain and France on the sidelines, will watch over the talks with eagle eyes, ready to try to bring the parties back to the negotiation road whenever a detour appears imminent. They will have an unusually gifted and patient ally in Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish diplomat in whose offices the talks are held. From all accounts and observations, Mr. Jarring is a firm believer in the virtues of secret diplomacy. Like a psychiatrist, he will hear out the representatives of the three countries, one after the other. And going back and forth, sometimes suggesting on his own, he will try to weave a fabric between them, to implement the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Mr. Jarring is starting his rounds with the Israeli, Egyptian and Jordanian ambassadors, but will in all likelihood continue his discussions with the foreign ministers of these countries when they arrive for the General Assembly in mid-September.

It can be assumed that Mr. Jarring will arrive quickly at the crucial questions, for which the superpowers have no answers, and which represent agonizing soul-searching for the Israeli and Arab governments themselves. How will the Israeli Government reconcile its need for "secure and recognized boundaries," referred to in the Security Council resolution, with the demand for "withdrawal from territories occupied in the recent conflict," required by the same resolution? What Israeli cabinet will be able to make such a dramatic choice and survive? For their part, President Nasser and King Hussein have pledged to recognize the existence of Israel after the latter withdraws from occupied territories, thus incurring the wrath of the Palestinian organizations. Will the guerrilla commandos allow Hussein to settle without giving them a share of the Promised Land?

Will the cease-fire hold? Will the talks break? The United Nations building, which had become a chamber of echos, is now a greenhouse for the care of an infinitely delicate plant, a sprig of peace, which will flourish or perish within its walls.

ANNE TUCKERMAN

Huelga! The Boycott That Worked

RONALD B. TAYLOR

Mr. Taylor is a California newsman and free-lance writer who has covered farm labor and related subjects in the San Joaquin Valley for the last decade.

In December of 1965, the late Walter Reuther walked the vineyard picket lines with Cesar Chavez, telling striking Delano grape workers, "There is no power in the world like the power of free men working together in a just cause." Privately he said to reporters, "This is the way it was"—referring to the 1930s when he led the auto workers in the sit-down strikes. As he marched with Chavez, he proudly carried the *Huelga* sign of the fledgling National Farm Workers Association (NFWA).

Five years ago, few non-Spanish speaking persons knew that "*huelga*" meant "strike"; the word had no economic meaning, no power. The grape growers shrugged, said "their" workers weren't on strike, and Kern County sheriff's deputies arrested forty-four pickets, including thirteen urban churchmen who had come to Delano to support Chavez. Their crime? Shouting *huelga!*

In the long, bitter years since then, *huelga* has taken on meaning that goes far beyond its literal translation. To California's $4.5 billion agriculture industry—and to the farmers of the nation—it is the word that brought the $100-million fresh grape industry to the bargaining table. *Huelga* implies the economic power of the boycott, the power of free men working for *la causa*.

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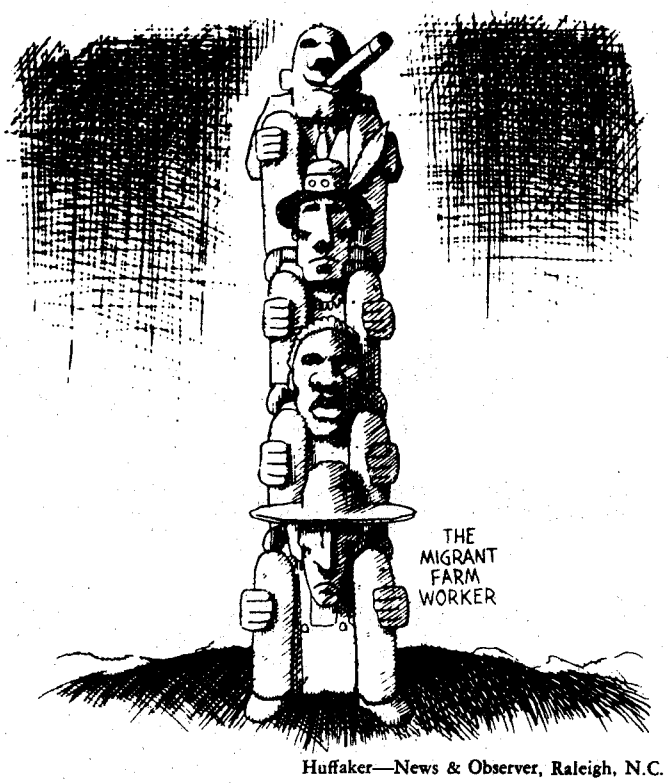

Huffaker—News & Observer, Raleigh, N.C.

Last July 29, as the twenty-six Delano growers filed into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) hiring hall to sign the contracts that ended the Delano grape strike, grower John Giumarra, Jr., said, "I don't want to hear any more *huelgas!*" The grape workers cheered and clapped; they approved, but more, they were happy with the sense of their combined power.

Ironically, the workers' success was indirectly granted to them by the growers' own stubborn nature. If agriculture had accepted inclusion of farm labor under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), the boycott would have been illegal. And Chavez points out that the NLRA, as amended by Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin, would make formation of a strong union impossible. "The boycott is our only economic weapon; without it we are dead," the union leader said.

The grape boycott was unique, *because it worked*; it shut off the markets, and it put new meaning into those faded old words "union label." Grapes shipped under the UFWOC "bird"—the same red-and-black *huelga* Eagle that Reuther carried—crossed the nation with speed and found premium prices; nonunion grapes were shunted aside. But this boycott couldn't have worked without the strong, complex web of alliances and friendships built by Chavez and the grape workers.

The source of the workers' power is the story of the UFWOC. In 1962 Chavez quit as director of the Community Services Organization and came to Delano: "For the next thirteen months I went to the people. I talked, and I listened, trying to find out what they wanted. I started in April and by September we had ten members and we formally organized the National Farm Workers Association."

In the early 1960s the AFL-CIO's Agriculture Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) was faltering. Its only viable local was headed by Larry Itliong and the Delano Filipino grape workers. And, in September of 1965, it was they who sat down in their farm labor camps, refusing to work for less than $1.40 an hour and 25¢ a box. Chavez and the NFWA joined the strike a week later.

Joe Brosmer, director of the Fresno Agriculture Labor Bureau that was importing strikebreakers to Delano, commented: "Chavez sat on the sidelines until he thought the time was right to take over the strike. His strength comes from outside the community."

Right on! For the better part of a century farm workers who tried to organize certainly found little help from *within* any San Joaquin Valley community. The outsiders came first from the California Migrant Ministry, led by the Rev. Wayne C. Hartmire. These preachers, and civil rights workers, put their bodies out on the picket lines, and went to jail. The Reuthers—Roy and then Walter—came to the grape strike, bringing $5,000 a month from the UAW and another $5,000 a month from the AFL-CIO's Industrial Unions Department. The AFL-CIO's chief organizer, Bill Kircher, commuted from Washington, D.C., to Delano, trying to help put it all together.

History then began to repeat itself. Growers simply trucked loads of scab workers past the picket lines; as the NFWA and AWOC pickets pulled crews out, more workers were brought in from Texas and Mexico. But behind the scenes, the support for *la causa* was building. In 1966 Sen. Harrison Williams brought his migrant labor subcommittee to Delano. This not only gave striking grape workers a national forum; it introduced Robert Kennedy to *la causa*. He became a friend, and an ally who always responded to the grape workers' call.

In those same 1966 hearings, in the Delano high school auditorium, Bishop Hugh Donohoe, speaking for all California Roman Catholic Bishops, focused attention on the Catholic Church's strong commitment to the working man's right to organize. But even with this strong Protestant and Catholic support, even with the help of the big unions, the strike was not effective. Chavez called for the boycott of grapes, first against the 11,000-acre Giumarra vineyards, then against all California grapes.

Chavez injected another issue into the struggle: pesticides. Before Sen. Walter Mondale's hearing in Washington, he and other workers testified how field laborers were being poisoned by the deadly chemicals. [See "Nerve Gas in the Orchards" by Ronald B. Taylor, *The Nation*, June 22, 1970, and "Poisons, Profits and Politics" by Ruth Harmer, *The Nation*, August 25, 1969.] The hearings held by Senator Mondale also looked into the importation of Mexican nationals who held "green card" visas.

And boycott directors dispatched hundreds of farm workers to the urban centers. In San Francisco and New York, Mayors Joseph Alioto and John Lindsay kicked up a fuss by supporting the boycott. In the fall of 1968 the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a strong statement supporting the workers' right to organize. The bishops neither endorsed nor repudiated the boycott. A year later the conference named a five-bishop farm labor committee, and instructed its chairman, Bishop Joseph Donnelly, of Hartford, to bring farmers and workers together in meaningful talks. Within weeks, the

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bishops were using the groundwork laid by Bishop Donohoe and his staff, and talks were started. First one grower, then others began to sign.

The major growers shifted their position, approached the bargaining table, backed off, tried to get help from California Gov. Ronald Reagan, then, with 30 per cent of the industry signed already, the Delano growers gave in, the grape strike was over. But, as the contracts were being signed, lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley signed what Chavez called "backdoor, sweetheart contracts" with the Teamsters and it looked as though the fight was on again.

But the strengths and the knowledge built in five years paid off. The bishops' committee mediated, and the rival unions reached a jurisdictional agreement: The Teamsters would pull back out of the fields, leaving field labor to the UFWOC. The Teamsters' jurisdiction is in the sheds, in the transporting and processing of the crops.

For the UFWOC this is just the beginning. The work of Chavez and Itliong, the merger of the old NFWA and AWOC into the UFWOC, and its growth into a true union has put meaning into the words spoken by Walter Reuther five years ago. The combined strength of the working man is a form of power. And this Labor Day, as UFWOC workers turn the direction of the union from grapes to other crops, deep in their memories they can hear the echo of Robert Kennedy's Boston Irish: *"Viva la causa! Viva la huelga!"* □

The Universities: Rulers & Rebels

As the universities reopen, with something like fear and trembling, some of the attention formerly focused on student unrest as the prime, even the exclusive, cause of campus disturbances, has shifted to the manner in which universities are governed. Governed may be the wrong word [see article by Blanche Blank, *The Nation,* June 8], but whether it be government, governance, or administration, the adult side of university administration, apart from the faculties, is beginning to receive the attention it has always deserved. Perhaps there is no single pattern for the operation of universities, but the experience at two leading West Coast universities, which have had their share of campus unrest, is relevant to the inquiry. (It is the more relevant because, according to a recent joint report from the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, student protest has increased more rapidly on the West Coast than in any other area of the country.) The regental system at the University of California has failed to measure up to the manifest and complex problems facing this great university. Across the bay, at Stanford, Dr. Kenneth Pitzer made a gallant attempt to establish a "community of consent" and nearly succeeded; more accurately, he succeeded to a degree, only to fail in the end. What he attempted to do is no less significant for the handling of future campus storms than the patent inadequacies of the regental pattern at Berkeley. *Editors*

Berkeley's Meddlesome Regents

BETTINA APTHEKER
Miss Aptheker prepared commentaries on the student rebellion for the American Sociological Association (1967) and the California Law Review *(1968). She is at present writing a Marxist critique of the crisis in U.S. higher education, and on the student rebellion, under a grant from the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation.*

The University of California has experienced a decade of internal stress unparalleled in its history. While the student rebels have been repeatedly analyzed and itemized, there has been surprisingly little inquiry into the governance of the university, and into the origins, functions and composition of its governing board of regents. This unfortunate imbalance tends to assume the functional stability of the university, and to place on the students the main burden of blame for the crisis.

The structure of the university is established by the California state constitution which provides: A board of regents as a public trust with "all powers of organization and government." The board consists of eight ex-officio members,* and sixteen members appointed by the governor for sixteen-year terms which are renewable. The regents are to be free of "all political and sectarian influences." The constitution establishes no other criteria for regents' qualifications, and appointments are left entirely to the discretion of the governor. This method of appointment has encouraged gross representative inequities and a preponderance of particular political and sectarian influences.

The Universtiy of California has been in existence for 102 years. In that time no Black, Chicano, Latino, Indian, Filipino, Japanese or Chinese has sat on the board of regents. In the past twenty-five years, California governors have appointed forty-eight different persons to the board. A breakdown of this group reveals:

Five regents with an academic background above a

* Ex-officio members are: the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the Assembly, Superintendent of Public Instruction, president of the State Board of Agriculture, the president of the Mechanics Institute (San Francisco), the president of the Alumni Association, and the president of the University.

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bachelor's degree: Dr. Howard Naffziger (surgeon); Dr. Frederick W. Roman (writer); Dr. Donald McLaughlin (geologist); Dr. John H. Laurence (director of the Donner Laboratory at Berkeley and an expert on radiation medicine and nuclear research) and Dr. Glenn W. Campbell (director of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University*). The last two are among Governor Reagan's several appointees.

¶Two representatives of organized labor: Cornelius Haggerty of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council; and Einar O. Mohn of the Teamsters, who completed the last year of Haggerty's appointment.

¶Twelve lawyers, all specialists in corporate and real estate law.

¶Four persons associated with major newspapers: Mrs. Randolph A. Hearst of that vast publishing empire; Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler, of the family that owns and publishes the *Los Angeles Times*; Edward A. Dickson, who had owned and edited the *Los Angeles Express;* and Thomas M. Storke, owner and publisher of the *Santa Barbara News-Press.*

¶The other twenty-seven regents appointed since 1946 are bankers and/or corporation executives.

¶Only three women have been appointed: Mrs. Elinor Heller, whose late husband, Edward Heller, a corporation executive and director of the Wells Fargo Bank, was also a regent; and Mrs. Hearst and Mrs. Chandler.

¶The average age of the present board is 60. Many of the regents who served during the 1950s had been born in the late 1880s; one went back to 1866.

The sixteen appointed regents currently serving (as of May 1970) are:

John E. Canady, on the board of directors of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation (the leading recipient of contracts from the Department of Defense);

Edward W. Carter, on the boards of Broadway-Hale Department Stores, Northrop Corporation, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co., Western Bancorporation (a holding company with majority interests in twenty-three full-service commercial banks in California), Pacific Telephone, United California Bank, Southern California Edison, and Del Monte (the largest agribusiness in California);

William K. Coblentz, a San Francisco attorney with the firm of Jacobs, Sills and Coblentz, and a director of the Hollister Land Company, and Union Oil (his political bent is liberal);

Dewitt A. Higgs of the San Diego law firm of Higgs, Fletcher & Mack;

Edwin W. Pauley, a director of Western Airlines, First Western Bank and the Pauley Petroleum Company. (At the end of World War II, Mr. Pauley was appointed U.S. representative to the Reparations Commission with the rank of ambassador. He was recalled to the United States shortly thereafter for a Congressional investigation into his war-time role as the coordinator of petroleum and lend-lease supplies to Russia and England.);

William M. Roth, on the boards of Crown Zellerbach, Pacific Intermountain Express, and Matson Navigation;

Norton Simon, president of Norton Simon, Inc. (formed by a merger of McCall Corporation and Canada Dry, in both of which Mr. Simon owns controlling interests), and a director of Hunt Foods Corporation. (Mr. Simon recently campaigned in the California Republican primary for the U.S. Senate, as "A Capitalist.");

William E. Forbes, Pauley's campaign manager, and on the boards of the Southern California Music Company, and Bell Brand Foods Corporation;

William French Smith, appointed by Ronald Reagan, a Los Angeles attorney in the firm of Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher, and a director of the Pacific Lighting Company;

Dean A. Watkins, another Reagan appointee, formerly a trustee of Stanford University, chairman of the board of the Watkins-Johnson Company which manufactures electronic components and communication equipment (Watkins-Johnson is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Texas-based oil conglomerate, Tenneco, Inc.);

Robert O. Reynolds, also a Reagan appointee, on the boards of the corporations owning the Los Angeles "Rams" and the Los Angeles "Angels";

Frederick G. Dutton, an attorney, who at present does not practice law (he is 47, the youngest member of the board and the most liberal. On several occasions he has delivered stinging criticisms of the board's actions. Some time ago, he described the regents' second firing of Angela Davis, a Communist and Black member of the philosophy department, as a "public lynching." In the early 1960s, Dutton was a leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, serving in 1960 as deputy national chairman of Citizens for Kennedy and Johnson, and in 1964 as executive director of the Platform Committee at the Democratic Party National Convention);

Dr. John H. Laurence, the most recent Reagan appointee, is, according to the newspaper reports announcing his appointment, considered to be politically conservative by his academic colleagues. The three other regents now serving are Mrs. Elinor Heller, Mrs. Hearst and Dr. Campbell.

In the last twenty-five years the corporate entities most consistently represented on the board have been the Hearst Corporation, which, in addition to its enormous publishing interests, owns large tracts of California real estate; and the Bank of America, the largest commercial bank in the United States (current assets of $25.5 billion), with heavy investments in California's agribusiness. In the late 1940s, and through the 1950s, the Hearst representative was the corporation's attorney, John Francis Neylan. The Bank of America, during the same period, was alternately represented by its founders, either L.M. or A.P. Giannini, and in the early 1960s by Jesse Tapp, whose tenure as chairman of the bank's board of directors partially coincided with his presidency of the California State Board of Agriculture.

The preponderance of aging corporate and banking

* Herbert Hoover wrote the institute's statement of principles: "The purpose of this Institution must be, by its research and publication, to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx—whether Communism, Socialism, economic materialism, or atheism—thus to protect the American way of life from such ideologies, their conspiracies, and to reaffirm the validity of the American system."

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Dempster

executives on the board suggests a conservative political tendency which their performance in governing the university amply confirms. Following the 1964 Free Speech Movement at the Berkeley campus, the regents commissioned a Beverly Hills attorney, Jerome C. Byrne, to investigate its causes. His report, submitted to the board on May 7, 1965, concluded that:

> The crisis at Berkeley last fall has become known as the free speech controversy. It was that, but more fundamentally it was a crisis in government, caused by the failure of the President and the Regents to develop a governmental structure at once acceptable to the governed and suited to the vastly increased complexity of the University. . . .

The regents, having allocated $75,000 for the production of the Byrne report, refused to authorize its official publication. It appeared in a special supplement of the *Los Angeles Times* (May 21, 1965)* but its recommendations were ignored. Whatever criticisms one may make of the report, it is one of the best critical analyses of the governance of the university yet produced.

The Byrne report disposed of the supposition that regental posts are honorary:

> The Regents make decisions in every aspect of University operations, including investments, real estate transactions, architectural plans, landscaping, transfers of funds among budget categories, appointments and salary levels of professors and administrators, new academic programs on various campuses and even student discipline.

Alluding to the scope of the powers granted the regents by the state constitution, the report suggested that a reasonable interpretation of this provision "was not that they [the Regents] should *be* the government of the University, but that they should *make provision for* the government of the University. . . ."

A basic source of academic aggravation is the persistent intrustion of the regents into the internal affairs of each campus. One faculty commission concluded that:

> Actions by the Regents . . . have raised serious threats to the academic freedom of this campus, the effective governance of its affairs, and the personal freedom of its students. . . . These incidents are but the most recent examples of a long series of abuses which make a mockery of the official theory that the Regents serve as a "buffer" between the University and the political pressures emanating from a hostile environment. What may have been intended as a buffer has become a conduit for transmitting pressures dangerous to the continuing integrity of the campus.

The regents almost always react with hostility to the political thrust of significant sections of students and/or faculty.

In the fall of 1968, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, was invited to be one of the guest lecturers for a course on the Berkeley campus—Social Analysis 139X: A study of racism in American society. A bitter controversy ensued. The regents said they would grant credit for the course if Cleaver lectured only once. However, students and faculty insisted on ten lectures by Cleaver, as the course was designed.

The issue lay dormant until November 1969 when a faculty law suit was filed, petitioning the court to assign credit to the students who had enrolled in the course. At this point the regents passed a most significant resolution, which asserted that because the regents enjoy *proprietary rights* over the university, all records therein, including those of the faculty, are regental property. They thereupon instructed the Academic Senate to make available all records pertaining to the controversy.

The faculty refused. The senate maintained that its records would be released only under court order, and then only on the premise that regents' counsel needed the documents to prepare themselves for the pending litigation. The chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee of the Berkeley division of the Academic Senate issued a statement which read in part: "To admit that all senate committee files are university records is to present grave problems to faculty autonomy. If faculty records are sub-

* Dorothy B. Chandler was reputed to be in the liberal wing of the regents. Her resignation after Ronald Reagan became Governor was interpreted as a reflection of her political views. (See Ross Y. Koen, "The Education of Ronald Reagan," *The Nation*, September 29, 1969.)

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ject to control and access by the board of regents then the faculty senate and its committees cannot function."

The regents won their court order, but on the narrow ground that the records were needed to prepare a defense. Still, the regents did not rescind their resolution; nor do they deny its validity. It can be invoked at any time.

The divergence of views between students and faculty, on the one hand, and the regents on the other, has been demonstrated by their reactions to events arising from racial oppression in the United States and from the war in Southeast Asia; and more generally by their contrasting opinions as to the proper relationship between the university and society.

In January 1967, the student newspaper at the Berkeley campus disclosed that a University of California chemistry professor, Melvin Calvin, had been serving on the board of directors of the Dow Chemical Company since 1964. At the time Dow contracted with the U.S. Government to manufacture napalm for use in Vietnam, Calvin defended his position in an open letter to the students: "As a weapon is effective, so it will be used, and the resources of the entire nation will be utilized by the Government, on request, or by requisition, to produce those weapons deemed by the military to be most effective in concluding the war. . . ."

The regents had no comment on the Calvin ethic; nor did they object to his off-campus associations. Presumably, they felt that both fell within the range of normal academic functions.

University scientists and engineers often establish contractual or consultative relations with private industry or the government, while remaining physically situated in the university. These arrangements are accepted as a natural and necessary byproduct of the scientific-technological revolution, and the regents have encouraged and protected them. The university, for example, staffs and administers the entire Livermore complex for the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

When, however, analogous relations are established between students and community organizations, regental opposition smolders and periodically flames. The students, it is argued, embroil the university in partisan political controversy, whereas it is called upon to maintain an aura of scholarly detachment.

Many students, both radical and moderates, reply that the regents' argument is specious and self-serving: consulting for Dow Chemical or Gulf Oil, or investing $7.6 million of university funds in Dow Chemical, is every bit as partisan as organizing free breakfasts for schoolchildren under the auspices of the Black Panther Party.

In February 1969 Black, Chicano, Asian and Indian students struck the Berkeley campus to dramatize their demand for the creation of a College of Ethnic Studies and a Black Studies department. According to a 1969 California legislative study, Black and Chicano students comprise nearly 19 per cent of California high school students, but are less than 2 per cent of the students on the nine University of California campuses.

The Third World students sought to increase the Black and Chicano representation. In a carefully drawn prospectus, they also developed an academic program relevant to the Black and Chicano experience in the United States, and responsive to the particular needs of their respective communities.

The regents responded by summoning police from six separate counties, and the Governor called out the National Guard. After weeks of intramural combat, the regents agreed to establish the College of Ethnic Studies —on their terms. They allocated $265,000 for its development. An average social sciences department at the university such as sociology, spends twice that amount just on salaries for its full-time professors. Three months after the Third World strike, the regents announced plans to build a ball field and a parking lot and designated $2.5 million for that project. (The field and lot were on the site of "People's Park.")

As the new academic year approaches, the Angela Davis case simmers under the suspended animation of conflicting court decisions, the prospect of numerous appeals, and a half dozen different legal suits against the regents, oi the philosophy department, or Miss Davis; and a new regents' decision to fire Miss Davis—again. Governor Reagan explained that Miss Davis had not been fired; she simply wasn't "rehired"—a semantic quibble which may nevertheless have some legal significance.

Despite the legal convolutions, the political effect of the regents' actions with respect to Miss Davis were surely predictable. For with their order to "not rehire" they again joined together the most explosive political and social issues of the decade. The action ignites the issues of Black liberation, academic freedom, political liberty and women's rights. Miss Davis personifies the new spirit of radicalism; she also marshals impressive academic credentials.

The question of Miss Davis' academic status has been largely obscured as a result of the current police allegations that she was involved in an abortive escape by Black prisoners from the Marin County courthouse, on August 7. Using the Marin events as a pretext, members of the board of regents, led by Max Rafferty, state Superintendent of Public Instruction, are publicly demanding what they have undoubtedly wanted for months: that the former chairman of UCLA philosophy department, Don Kalish, who originally hired Miss Davis, and others of the department who defended her rights to academic freedom be summarily dismissed. Rafferty has also demanded that Prof. Herbert Marcuse of the UCLA, San Diego, who serves as Miss Davis' thesis adviser, be stripped of his emeritus status. Finally, Rafferty called for the regents to assume direct responsibility for the hiring and firing of all university personnel.

The pattern of repeated crisis and the convergence of issues in the Davis case, independent of Miss Davis' FBI status as a "fugitive," illustrate the depth of the university's malaise. For while particular grievances have inspired each campus upheaval, the persistence of insurgency, the escalation of confrontation, and now the fusion of issues suggest structural disorder and societal deterioration.

The University of California regents are roughly typical of the regents and trustees who govern universities and colleges throughout the United States, though they tend to be wealthier and older than their national counterparts, and probably wield more power in state politics. This is borne out by a 1969 survey that Rodney T. Hartnett

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of the Educational Testing Service made of 5,000 trustees at more than 500 institutions in the United States. He reported that the trustees are overwhelmingly male, in their 50s (though nationally more than a third are beyond 60), white, well educated and financially well off (more than half have annual incomes exceeding $30,000). All occupy prestige occupations; a sizable number are corporation and business executives. Approximately 58 per cent list themselves as Republicans.

Hartnett questioned the participating trustees as to their views on current academic problems. He concluded that "trustees do not read—indeed, generally never even heard of the more relevant . . . books and journals [on higher education]. . . ." Further, "The trustees generally favor a hierarchical system in which decisions are made at the top and passed 'down'. . . ." As examples, Hartnett reports: 69 per cent of the trustees believe that campus speakers should be screened; 40 per cent believe that the administration should control the contents of student newspapers; 53 per cent believe it is reasonable to require loyalty oaths from faculty members; 92 per cent believe attendance at college is a privilege not a right; and 64 per cent believe that trustees (not the faculty) should bestow tenure.

The California regents have been shaken by charges of dubious financial practices. The Berkeley student newspaper, the *Daily Californian,* disclosed last January 16 that millions of dollars of university funds are invested in corporations owned and directed by members of the board. For example, the university invested $3.8 million in the Southern California Edison Company of which regent Edward Carter is a director; it put $1.05 million into Western Airlines, of which regent Edwin Pauley is a director; and $2.2 million into Lockheed Aircraft, of which regent John Canady is a director. Recently, a California legislative investigation has been proposed to determine whether or not University of California administrators, including President Charles Hitch, acted "illegally" or "unethically" when they set up a foundation through which regent Pauley allegedly netted more than half a million dollars. These disclosures have further compromised the integrity of the regents, and contributed to student distrust and anger.

There is increasing evidence that the regents' ineptitude extends to the purely academic affairs of the university. Robert Reinhold, writing in *The New York Times* of March 2, 1969, reported the beginnings of a faculty exodus from Berkeley, and observed that the "rigid bureaucratic administrative framework" was a serious factor in the decision of many to seek positions elsewhere.

The stifling conformity of these aging bankers is apparent in their inability to recognize the university's *educational* priorities. Under the California Master Plan for Higher Education (adopted by the California state legislature in 1960 as the Donahoe Act) the university has undertaken a continuous, if haphazard, expansion of its facilities and academic programs. This expansion included a proposal for year-round operations and the conversion of the academic year from the semester to the quarter system (or nine-week instead of sixteen-week courses).

By an overwhelming majority, the faculty has repeatedly opposed this change altogether, or contended that the university was ill-prepared to institute it immediately. Nevertheless the regents unilaterally instituted the quarter system in the fall of 1966. The crazy-quilt programming of undergraduate education thereupon underwent another dazzling innovation. Frantic efforts were undertaken to restructure courses, and either to cram into nine weeks what had previously been taught in sixteen, or to cut programs and reschedule them. However, the entire quarterly scheme proved to be a useless gesture a year later when the Reagan administration instituted its first cuts in university funds. The present level of state funds barely permits the university to hold its own; it precludes any possibility of the expansion which is a prerequisite for year-round operation.

The California budget situation is part of a national pattern. The National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development, in its 1969-70 annual report warned President Nixon that "everywhere [in higher education] the mood appears to be one of cutting back—withdrawing—seeing how little we can get along with; in short, a steady retreat from the bold plans launched several years ago. . . ."

The best that can be said of the University of California at present is that it continues to function. The clouds of tear gas have lifted from the Berkeley campus and a semblance of "normality" has returned. Meanwhile, the Governor has called for the dismissal of two UCLA law professors for "unprofessional conduct." The Santa Barbara campus continues to sizzle, the sole official response of the regents to this conflagration being a new set of disciplinary rules, mandating the chancellors of each campus to impose immediate interim suspensions on any student, employee or faculty member "where there is reasonable cause to believe he has violated any university or campus regulation by disruptive acts." This regulation was opposed by all nine university chancellors in public statements, on the ground that it limited their flexibility in critical situations. The regents insisted on its adoption.

Many of the worst crises and confrontations on the University of California campuses have been either provoked directly by the regents or aggravated by a punitive disciplinary policy. More important, very large numbers of students have been driven into a frustrated fury by the unresponsiveness of the regents, and of higher authorities in general, to their demands, concerns and aspirations.

Many faculty are now convinced that the state constitutional provisions for the governance of the university require substantive modification, although few have much hope that it can be done. In 1965, a California Assemblyman from San Jose, William Stanton, proposed a constitutional amendment which provided that criteria be established for regents' appointments, to assure some standard of academic qualification, and an equitable representation of student, faculty, community and ethnic interests. His bill stipulated that the term of the board service be reduced; that the powers of the board be specified and delimited. The Stanton amendment died in committee, but the issue remains very much alive.

Quite a few students have been walking around their campuses wearing a button—"Fire the Regents." □

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Stanford's 'Community of Consent'

PETER S. STERN
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Palo Alto

President Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia, which marked the start of widespread campus unrest across the nation, produced at Stanford the climax to a month-long struggle over ROTC. In April, there were two sit-ins, unprecedented attacks on property, resulting in $100,000 damage, mostly to windows, and two nights of virtual warfare with local police. Arson destroyed offices and research materials at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences. By the end of June, ROTC had been voted out as an academic program, and President Kenneth S. Pitzer, an internationally known chemist and academic administrator who came here in December 1968, had resigned.

To explain these events, it is necessary to show how the scale of acceptable action changed over the past two years, and how Stanford's crisis managers, the best in the nation until this spring, lost control of the situation. One must also view Stanford in the context of extremism in both the mid-Peninsula and the nation at large, for this campus of 11,000 students and 1,000 faculty is an island in a sea of comfortable bourgeois communities, shocked by campus unrest, which their members oppose either by supporting the police or by acting under cover to strike at leftist organizations by threat and force. Counterviolence may have been behind the fire that damaged the Center.

Spring unrest is not new at the "Harvard of the West." The days when Stanford was noted for its fraternity life and Rose Bowl football teams are past—not because the Big Red is a pushover on the gridiron, as two seasons of near-championship play have shown but because a significant segment of the student body, raised in the decade of Vietnam, Watts, the Kerner Report and Martin Luther King, feels committed to changing America.

The first major sit-in at Stanford occurred in May 1968, as several hundred students occupied the Old Union, a student services building, to protest lack of student power in the campus judicial system. In response, the administration calmly ordered campus policemen to take up posts inside the open building, but no force was used to oust the occupiers. Students created mini-seminars inside the building, and cleaned up when they left after a new judicial code was proposed. The Old Union sit-in, led by the SDS, had been effective because it attracted a mass following, and that became the formula for successful protest actions: the vanguard would politicize an issue, convince a large following, and act. Such procedures kept the demonstrations generally peaceful.

In late 1968, the SDS focused campus attention on Stanford's involvement in Southeast Asia. Both the electrical engineering department, which held six contracts for more than $1 million in electrical warfare projects, and the Stanford Research Institute, owned by the university but autonomously managed, which had contracts for $400,000 in chemical-biological warfare and $6 million in war-related research in Southeast Asia, became subjects of SDS attacks. SRI had developed the "strategic hamlets" plan for Vietnam and had studied guerrilla infiltration for Thailand. The demands of SDS included a halt to all Department of Defense research, all economic and military projects in Southeast Asia, and the resignations of three Stanford trustees, Roger Lewis of General Dynamics, Tom Jones of Northrup Aircraft and William Hewlett of Hewlett-Packard, all symbols of university complicity with the military-industrial complex.

On March 11, 1969, the SDS protest spread to the community, as students heard members of Stanford's board defend the manufacture by their companies of military aircraft and the establishment of a poison-gas facility. One trustee denied that the university's cooperation with the military effort in Vietnam represented a political choice. Many people were shocked into political action by the March 11 forum. On April 3, 800 moderates and radicals representing a dozen campus and community organizations met to demand that the trustees drop whatever plans they had to sell SRI, "and that instead SRI be brought under tighter control by the university and that guidelines be established for socially acceptable research." On April 8, the board failed to meet the demands. The next day, the "April 3rd Movement" considered action. [See "Sidestepping the Militants" by Larry Schwartz, *The Nation*, March 9.]

The mood was one of militance, urgency and frustration. As one leader said: "This research is going on every day in SRI and the Stanford Industrial Park. The end result is that bombs are coming down on the heads . . . of Vietnamese every day. . . . This will not stop while we wait for the next three, four, five, six months, while we wait for rational consideration." Another commented, "I don't think that the trustees are ever going to come out and oppose counterinsurgency. I think that if we act now we can educate." This the group did, as it poured into the Applied Electronics Laboratory, site of the electronic warfare research, for a nonviolent, open and educative sit-in.

Once in the building, the movement "liberated" an offset press, started a daily newspaper and issued a troubling document entitled "The Goods on AEL," disclosing that the university's watchdog committee on research had allowed war contracts to be described in innocuous terms. In the next nine days, 1,500 persons signed complicity statements with the sit-in group, and entire classes were moved to AEL, so that both education and the sit-in could continue. All research there was stopped. Except for a few petty thefts, and the more disturbing disappearance of two manuscripts, the sit-in was peaceful.

As in 1968, the university sent campus policemen into the building, to guard classified documents. Willard Wy-

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man, associate dean of students, summed up the administration's attitude: "We're used to the fact that there may be a sit-in and we have sort of a general preparation, which is to stay cool." Nine days later, under increasing outside pressure, Pitzer employed "emergency powers" to close the building for a week and to suspend any student who remained inside. The demonstrators left; and the administration showed its good will by keeping the building closed to researchers as well as demonstrators for the next week. The faculty voted six days later to cease all classified research, and results of a poll released later in April showed that two-thirds of the students and one-third of the faculty favored the movement's demand to redirect the research at SRI.

Another student-trustee confrontation on April 30 led to a second sit-in, at Encina Hall, the administrative nerve center. After failing to dislodge the occupiers, who were busy going through the files, the administration called in outside police for the first time in Stanford's history. The students voted to leave the building as 125 sheriff's deputies stood in the lobby. There were no arrests.

Reason had triumphed over brute force, even though it had been necessary to call the police. The administrators and the police officers stopped the police charge and allowed the students to leave. All the students, not just the ones who had voted to leave, abided by the majority vote. Lyman eloquently described his response to the police action, as he addressed the faculty: "Any time it becomes necessary for a university to summon the police, a defeat has taken place. . . . The victory we seek at Stanford is not like a military victory; it is a victory of reason and the examined life over unreason and the tyranny of coercion. To be forced into coercive acts in order to meet coercive acts is in itself a setback on the path that leads to our kind of victory."

Supported by the community, the administration then obtained an injunction against further disturbances by the sit-in members, but showed its good will and flexibility by going back to court to modify the original terms of the order, judged too severe by campus moderates. Forced off campus by this tactic, the movement assaulted a nearby SRI facility and ran out of steam as final exams approached.

The spring of 1969 produced abundant examples of how outraged the campus could become about the war, but events of the period also showed that this outrage would usually be expressed in nonviolent ways. Except for the massive window breaking at SRI in mid-May, there was little of what is today called "trashing." Credit for this restraint goes to the leadership of the movement, to the mass support of the students, and to the cool handling of the situation by Pitzer and Lyman.

Stanford has been spared the tragic excesses of Berkeley, Santa Barbara and Kent State, because there has been a tacit understanding, a "community of consent" between the protest movement and the administration. While each side privately reviles the other, they have consented to certain ground rules.

During the summer of 1969, some doubt arose as to the good will of the administration when the ROTC issue, supposedly settled in the spring, found a second wind. In February 1969, the faculty senate, later upheld by the entire faculty, accepted recommendations of a special ROTC committee to end credit for ROTC courses. However, a students' referendum voted by a 3-to-2 margin to keep ROTC with credit, and the trustees went on record, in March, that ROTC was "vital to the supply of civilian leadership for the military services, and it is of critical importance that first-ranking institutions, such as Stanford, lend their strength to that task."

President Pitzer proceeded under the assumption that the credit question had been settled by appointing a presidential, rather than an academic council, committee to handle the transitional details of ROTC. To negotiate with the Army, Pitzer chose E. Howard Brooks, vice-provost, who had sat on the ROTC committee and had opposed the committee's report. While he negotiated for Stanford, Brooks also sat on a Defense Department committee which recommended, in September 1969, that credit be given for ROTC courses. Brooks had personally advocated reform of ROTC long before the radicals took up the cause, but the circumstances of summer and autumn, 1969, did lead many to suspect that Pitzer's choice of Brooks would undermine the faculty vote.

It came as no surprise when the Army presented a new contract which called for the possibility of credit for ROTC courses. The new ROTC committee approved the plan, overstepping its mandate as it did so, and by March 30, 1970, both the faculty senate and the academic council had reversed their previous votes and had accepted the principle of credit for some ROTC courses. On March 31, the day after the faculty poll was made public, about 200 persons marched to the ROTC building and attempted to nail shut the doors. They were driven off by forty sheriff's deputies who had been on campus "just in case." The students broke 200 windows valued at $4,000 as they fled, a distinct departure from the tactics of the previous years.

One reason that trashing occurred on March 31 was that the movement lacked leadership and unity. Many of the 1969 leaders were no longer at Stanford; their places had been taken by less experienced radicals. Furthermore, there was no coherent mass behind the protest. The rocks which flew on March 31 were thrown spontaneously. The rationalizations came later.

There had been an interesting precedent for trashing, which by the end of the first week of April had caused nearly $10,000 damage. Last year, members of the April 3rd Movement tried to insert an ad in *The Wall Street Journal* which read, in part: "A recent cost-benefit analysis has found that due to the unstable investment climate created by the insurgent activities on the Stanford campus, and in view of the extreme likelihood that such activities will continue, purchase of the Stanford Research Institute would entail serious risk and would prove to be highly unprofitable." Leaders of the Revolutionary Union faction of SDS took up the cost-benefit analysis this year to justify their activities; they would make it too expensive for the university to keep ROTC. By breaking windows, the trashers were showing their frustration at the lack of a mass following and were bringing home the war.

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Campus reaction was near unanimous in opposition to the rock throwing. Faculty leaders decried the criminal acts. Administration leaders, who never did explain why the police were on campus on March 31, promised swift and restrained police action. President Pitzer explained his interpretation of the radical tactic on April 7: "One purpose of the radical acts of violence . . . has been to provoke police retaliation which the demonstrators may then use to seek new adherents. So far these efforts have failed." The Pitzer-Lyman strategy worked well for the next two weeks. Police came on campus several times to pursue rock throwers and to break up assemblies of protesters. There were even a few arrests. Conservative and moderate forces voiced their backing for the administration.

Changes were also occurring within the movement. By April 19, when the movement voted to present an ultimatum, and to act on April 23 if the university did not "off" ROTC, the militant nonviolent forces had gained the upper hand. The administration, either unable or unwilling to see the new political temper of the movement, hit the panic button, and blamed the consequences on the protesters. The militant nonviolent forces sensed the hardening of the administration's position, and believed that they could win their demands by reverting to the old sit-in tactic. In response, the administration announced that no overnight sit-in would be tolerated, whether disruptive or not. Concerned faculty and staff members spoke with provost Lyman on April 22, pointing out that the nonviolent faction was now in control, and he conceded that the police would not automatically be summoned. In fact, the administration, in consultation with a faculty advisory group, had already decided to call the police if students refused to leave an occupied building by 5 P.M. This inflexible approach ruptured what was left of the community of consent.

A sit-in at the Old Union began on April 23. By 2 P.M., three hours before the sit-in was declared disruptive, the university administration was already preparing action with the police. If Pitzer and Lyman wanted to preserve the community of consent, they could have taken two intermediate steps. First, they could have dispensed with outside intervention by protecting sensitive records with campus policemen. This tactic had worked each time it had been used in the past. Second, they could have gone to court for an injunction, instituting civil trespass proceedings against the sit-in participants. Instead, they declared the building closed at 5 P.M., and brought in the Santa Clara County sheriff's office at 6. An officer told the demonstrators that they were guilty of criminal trespass, and intimated that they would be arrested if they did not leave. No one was quite sure whether the police would give further warning before they struck in force or not.

As the evening progressed, the sit-in continued, peaceful, educative, and fun. A rock band played for three hours. At 1 A.M., a veritable colloquium was in progress in the lobby of the open building. University employees took part in the discussion. Passers-by stopped to listen, unaware that they were risking sudden arrest. There were no guards at the door nor warnings that the building had been declared closed.

At 1:10 in the morning, fifty sheriff's deputies came charging through the rear and side doors of the building, taking by surprise the demonstrators who were settling into their sleeping bags for the night. I was standing outside the building, gathering information for this article, when I was swept inside by the first deputy who rounded the corner, and was booked and jailed with twenty-two others. Students who escaped, or those already in the courtyard, exploded into a paroxysm of rock throwing which caused, in one night, $40,000 damage—three times the total for the entire month to that point.

It was learned the next day that the administration's inflexible position had thrust the university into the hands of the police. The sheriff's office had demanded, under pressure from the county administrator, that there be arrests. This being an election year, a body count was imperative. One administrator admitted on Friday that the police had presented an ultimatum: if word of their 1 A.M. bust was leaked to the demonstrators, they would not come on campus again, except for undefined "serious crimes." Provost Lyman defended his actions, and scornfully rejected the complaint that there had been no warning. He had the support of many concerned faculty members and students who wanted coercive protest stopped at any cost. But he had shattered the community of consent, and had not even followed accepted university policy in doing so, for the administration had failed to station guards at the doors of the building, as its own regulations stipulate it must.

Many students became radicalized at the sight of what in their minds was unnecessary and unprovoked police action. It was not brutality in the ordinary sense of the word, but brutalization of a certain idea of the university. The provost's words about "the victory of reason and the examined life over unreason and the tyranny of coercion" had lost their eloquence. And President Pitzer's admonition not to play into the hands of the radicals by bringing on a confrontation was shown to be prophetic. As for the judicial process, the courts threw out all charges brought for criminal trespass against the arrestees, in spite of the best efforts of the local deputy district attorneys to amend and reamend their complaints. With a little bit of reflection and consultation with competent legal counsel before April 23, the university could have avoided all this.

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While the campus was still shuddering from the arrests, arsonists as yet unidentified set four gasoline fires at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, in the hills behind the Stanford campus. The Center affords scholars an opportunity to write undistracted by teaching duties. Two of the fires destroyed scholars' studies, badly damaging their research materials. Many persons assumed that the Stanford Left must be responsible. A university news release disclosed that the radicals had criticized the Ford Foundation for its support of "bourgeois" social science. Some persons connected this fire with the arson at the Naval ROTC building and the president's office in 1968, although in fact no one has been charged with any of these crimes.

There is no evidence to implicate anyone in the Center fire, but so much attention has been drawn to the brief passage in the SDS pamphlet, "Maggie's Farm," a radical guide to the campus which appeared in 1969, and which criticizes the Center, that it is proper to consider the possibility that the fire was set by elements of the extreme Right. The Palo Alto area has been the target of numerous bomb attacks and arsons directed against institutions which study aspects of human behavior, and it has been proved that these attacks have come from the Right, specifically from a neo-Nazi group, arrested in February 1969, whose members identify ideologically with the anti-Communist, anti-sex education, anti-permissive, and anti-Black currents of what is best described as the colorfully kooky California right wing.

The neo-Nazi group bombed a number of leftist organizations and harassed individuals known for their participation in controversial activities. Such attacks have resumed in recent months, although the principal group has been arrested. The neo-Nazis also harassed and attacked persons who supported the Palo Alto Unified School District's multi-cultural education program, which was run in 1968 by a Black militant. This program has been the subject of some controversy since its creation. A group of local families, called Citizens for Excellence in Education, has shown bitter opposition to the program, which it regards as political indoctrination, and has attacked the school board for softness on sex education, sensitivity training, "humanism" and other experimental education programs.

This year there was an election for the seat of incumbent Preston Cutler on the school board. Cutler, who is associate director of the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, has supported the multi-cultural program. His principal rival, backed by the Citizens for Excellence in Education, attacked the board's alleged surrender to high school radicals and criticized the multicultural program. On at least three occasions during open-forum campaign meetings, Cutler was asked from the floor what the relationship between the Center and the school district would be if he were re-elected. He was re-elected, on April 21. Three days later, at 5 A.M., arsonists struck the Center.

Whether or not there is any substance to the hypothesis that the attack on the Center came from the extreme Right, there is substance to the observation that violence has become a more acceptable form of protest, both off and on campus. There is also considerable evidence that the local police have stepped out of bounds to harass and to repress campus protesters by undertaking "night-rider" vigilante missions in unmarked cars, spraying persons with Mace, or holding students in custody on the Stanford campus just for the fun of it.

In the week following the first sit-in, the tenor of violence at Stanford increased radically. On April 29, a second sit-in took place at the Old Union. The police allowed those who so wished to leave the building before making arrests, but in spite of these more lenient tactics, hundreds of students massed around the building in an ugly mood. A network reporter commented that a riot was in the making. Even the fraternity types joined in the shouts of "Pigs off campus." Soon the standoff turned into pitched battle. Demonstrators felled more than twenty officers with rocks and chunks of concrete. The deputies responded with their clubs. To the credit of the training of the county sheriff's deputies, no one fired a shot. After several hours of combat, there had been only two cases of what appeared to be malicious beatings, one of a Black, the other of an Indian dressed in motorcycle attire.

On the following night, a mass meeting to protest the Cambodian invasion turned into a staging forum for another confrontation with the police. Once again, police and demonstrators charged each other, while a group of nonviolent students, shouting "No rocks!," tried to interpose their bodies between the police and the protesters. Had it not been for Cambodia, the events of the weekend might have turned into tragedy. Someone fired shotgun blasts into the home of an ROTC instructor; there was talk of bombing buildings. But the revulsion against the invasion was so widespread that the militant nonviolent faction was again able to gain control of the movements. A mass meeting on May 3 endorsed the Yale demands—withdrawal of American forces from Southeast Asia, a halt to political repression at home, an end to ROTC—and called for a shutdown of the university until the demands were met. The German department voted to strike for these demands, and other departments followed suit, in spite of administrative pressure.

By Monday, May 4, the day of the Kent State murders, the campus was paralyzed and remained so for two weeks. Unconfirmed rumors were that the trustees wanted to bring on the police to reopen buildings, but no such action was taken. Minor incidents of assault on the part both of strikers and irate employees marred what was otherwise a peaceful, though coercive, show of conscience.

The educative process continued through new channels. Students were mobilized for canvassing and for precinct work. Departmental convocations brought together for the first time undergraduates, graduate students, faculty and staff members to discuss restructuring of the decision-making process. Stanford went through an awakening of political consciousness that must have been like France's experience in the spring of 1789. The militant nonviolent radicals, and the trashing radicals who had rejected nonviolence because America had for years been using violence, were joined by thousands of students and

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faculty members who were too appalled by the extension of the war to continue "business as usual."

This awakening produced two victims, and a number of lessons. The first victim was ROTC. On May 7, a week after the invasion began, the senate voted to end credit for the program by August 1970. Less than a month later, Pitzer endorsed a proposal forwarded by the ROTC committee to suspend altogether the regular ROTC program. The senate voted to accept this on June 4.

The second victim was Pitzer himself. Kenneth S. Pitzer has been outspoken against the Vietnamese War, but the radicals condemned him as a hypocrite because he did not "see" the connection between the war and ROTC. It was in the long run the Cambodian invasion which led him to recommend a reconsideration of the question, and to recognize that the continuation of the war made impossible what he considered to be the necessary changes in university structure and power redistribution. In this year of the confrontation, his soft-spoken liberalism had by the end of April lost him the support of all his constituencies. He had appeared to vacillate; and although his public speeches reflected a refreshing honesty and willingness to deal with the difficulties that will beset any president of a large university today, he appeared to many to lack the personality and firmness needed at Stanford. It was rumored in mid-May that the trustees had removed from his jurisdiction the power to call the police, making his resignation inevitable. Provost Richard W. Lyman, a historian of the British Labour Party, will become acting president this fall, and may get the job permanently. As one moderate faculty member put it, "Lyman has come out of all this smelling like roses." He has appeared to be forceful and eloquent, but to many this appearance was obtained at the price of inflexibility.

President Pitzer's permanent successor must learn from the 1970 experience that effective crisis management at Stanford must be flexible enough to deal with changing political situations. There was probably nothing the administration could have done at the beginning of April to stop the rock throwing. Had the mass movement swelled earlier, the trashing faction would not have had the upper hand. In the week of April 24-30, when most of the damage took place, the protest was a response to the questionable police tactics used on April 24. By April 29, when it was known that American forces were in Cambodia, the police were seen as counterinsurgents, venturing on campus where they had no business.

Underlying these causes for violence is a more serious one which affects the entire nation: the use of official violence by the government to insure its foreign and domestic goals. As long as the Stanford board of trustees can be linked with American imperialism and the manufacture of arms, and as long as the students feel that the board holds the real power on campus, there will be violence. These students come from the top 10 per cent of students in the country. They don't need faculty agitators to open their eyes. When they feel that the university and the nation are working for a positive, not a repressive, society, then there will be no more violence.

THE NETWORKS

FIRST ROUND TO AGNEW

M. L. STEIN

Mr. Stein, chairman of the Department of Journalism at New York University, is the author of When Presidents Meet the Press, Freedom of the Press *and* The Story of American War Correspondents *(all Julian Messner).*

Three of the awards handed out by the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences at the June 7 "Emmy" night ceremonies had little significance for most viewers, but for the broadcast industry they were of special importance. They went to the news presidents of the three major networks "for their leadership against forces which strike at journalism's duty to preserve the free flow of information." The citation was aimed directly at Spiro Agnew, whose repeated attacks against television news programming that he finds objectionable have created a climate of gloom which the awards only partially dispelled. As an NBC news writer defined the mood, "Nobody's cared but everybody's worried."

The worry has produced responses ranging from the belligerent "We're not knuckling under to Administration pressure" to an almost frenzied effort to play the news so squarely down the middle that no one in the White House could possibly accuse any broadcaster of bias. Even so, critics chide the networks for having given too much time to the Nixon viewpoint since the Vice President delivered his media blasts.

The first of these came on November 13 in Des Moines, Ia., before the Midwest Republican Committee and millions of startled television viewers. Agnew lashed out at what he termed the "tiny and closed fraternity of privileged men" responsible for gathering, editing and interpreting the news for the TV networks. He complained that Nixon's November 3 Vietnam speech was followed by "instant analysis and querulous criticism" from television commentators, a charge that was denied by network officials who noted that advance copies of the talk had been distributed two hours before, allowing plenty of time for consideration.

But what most dismayed the industry was Agnew's ominous reminder that broadcasting is "enjoying a monopoly sanctioned and licensed by government." He then questioned whether the First Amendment freedom accorded the print media should also apply to television.

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The warning was made explicit a few days later when Herbert Klein, Nixon's director of communications, said of the news media: "If you look at all the problems you have today and you fail to continue to examine them, you do invite the government to come in."

Many persons in and out of the television industry believed that Agnew intended by his speech to defuse the November 15 Vietnam Moratorium by scaring off TV coverage. In fact, the moratorium was lightly covered, but broadcasters deny that Agnew influenced that decision.

A week after his Des Moines address, the Vice President returned to the subject in Montgomery, Ala., when he again spoke before a friendly audience. His main targets were *The New York Times* and the Washington Post Company whose holdings include station WTOP-TV in Washington. There was little doubt that the speech, like its predecessor, was inspired by the White House and represented the President's thinking. Clark R. Mollenhoff, Nixon's former special counsel, answered reporters on the matter by saying: "If you are asking me, 'does it [Agnew's media criticism] reflect the Administration's views,' the evidence is abundant that it does."

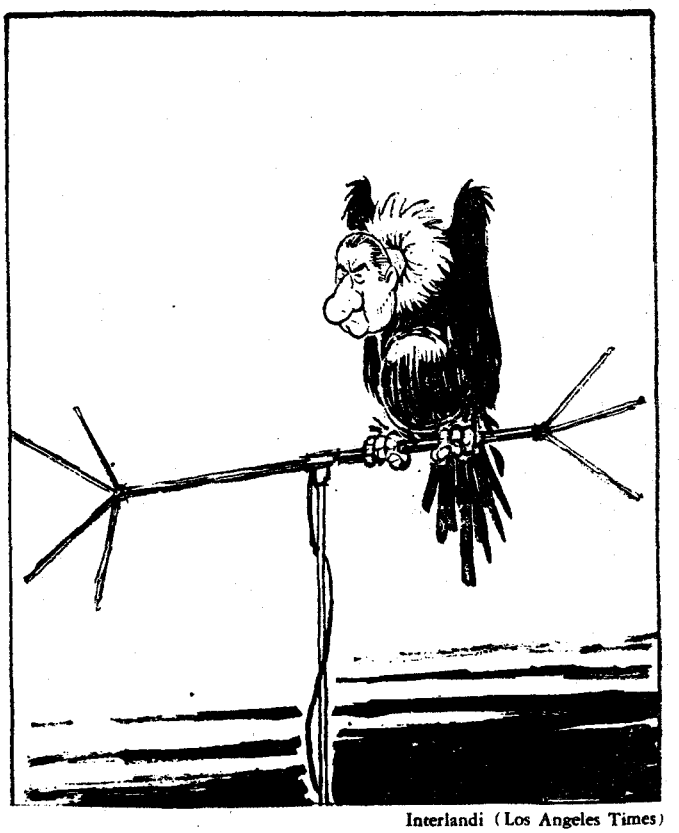
Nothing has occurred since Agnew's diatribes to give the networks cause for cheer. On the contrary, there is evidence that the speeches were signals for a mounting anti-media campaign by the Administration. Federal agents have been serving dozens of dragnet subpoenas for reporters' notes, memos, tape recordings and unused portions of television interviews with Black Panthers and other members of radical movements. "Agents are running in here every day with subpoenas," said NBC's Chet Huntley. "No one in the federal government seems to be discouraging this insanity."

Nor has Agnew holstered his guns. He has sniped at the news corps in subsequent addresses and press conferences on such subjects as Laos and the Senate defeat of Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court. In an interview with CBS newscaster Roger Mudd, the Vice President blamed the "liberal media" for Carswell's rejection.

In a recent issue of *TV Guide*, Agnew avuncularly spanked television for encouraging violence by covering student demonstrations; he called it "manufactured news, revolutionary theatre brought into millions of living rooms by the networks."

Network personnel find small solace in the fact that Agnew and Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell include the print media as well as broadcasters in their harassing tactics. TV newsmen feel that newspapers are so well protected by the Constitution and the American free press tradition that they will ride out the storm with little damage. Broadcasters, as they were so chillingly reminded by Agnew and Klein, are regulated by the FCC and could face tighter controls imposed by Congress, which set them up in business in the first place through the Communications Act of 1934. Also, networks and their affiliated stations had been under fire for programming violence and for excess commercialism before Agnew arrived on the scene.

The broadcasters' dejection is compounded by a wave of hate and distrust of the communications media which peaked during the Chicago Democratic Convention, but



Interlandi (Los Angeles Times)

The Spiro Bird

has not yet much receded. Thousands of letters poured into the stations, praising Agnew for his media assaults and condemning the TV analysts for being unfair to Nixon. Belted from both Right and Left, the media have been vilified for their stands on Vietnam, crime, racial unrest and integration. CBS President Frank Stanton termed television "the most criticized medium in the history of communications." He added: "Newspapers, magazines, academic groups, learned societies—who wouldn't dream of criticizing each other—criticize us every single day. Everyone has free access to what we do, and everyone sees us do it."

With regard to the Vice President, the three networks took a hard line publicly. Officials swung around the country in a flurry of speeches of their own. NBC President Julian Goodman asserted that the networks "must remain the sole judges of what constitutes good news practice in providing time for response and rebuttal to live broadcasts of Presidential speeches and statements." He also called on the federal government to ban the use of subpoenas on the news media, calling the practice a danger to "freedom of information secured by the First Amendment."

Elmer W. Lower, president of ABC News, said there was "something ominous" in reminders that broadcasting is federally licensed, and pledged that ABC will give the public "full information of their affairs." Bill Leonard, CBS News vice president and director of news programming, delivered a sharply satirical address, linking Agnew's media punches to a future Orwellian society in which the government subpoenaed the "outthoughts" of broadcast journalists.

The reaction was equally strong within the network families. Richard Salant, CBS News president, sent a memorandum to all his staffers, exhorting them to perform

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their responsibilities "honestly, fearlessly, and with the depth and perception that true journalism requires."

"I am confident," Salant continued, "that none of us will psychologically or subliminally so react to [Agnew's] attacks that we will trim our sails or engage in self-censorship of suppression or softening."

In his interdepartmental note, NBC News President Reuven Frank told his newsmen that the network "will not diminish its efforts to report the news; provide background . . . analyze controversial events and issues although the events may be unpopular and the issues may arouse strong emotions. Nor will we react to the Vice President's attack by departing in any way from high professional standards. No one is asking you to change because more people than ever before are looking over your shoulder."

Whether the networks' deeds match their words is a slippery question. There has been an increase in Administration stories and Agnew himself has been featured on numerous reports and panel shows. But what does this prove? The White House is always news and in recent months, what with Nixon's Supreme Court troubles, Cambodia and campus riots, it has pushed its way even more onto the front pages and the television screens.

CBS's Walter Cronkite denied any overplay of Agnew in his broadcasts, but noted: "I can believe Mr. Agnew has been in the news more often. Whether we like it or not, we have a Vice President who does manage to make himself heard and known. This is just a matter of news judgment."

That was the explanation given by many New York TV newsmen when asked if they have gone out of their way to accommodate the Administration in news presentation. "There has been no substantial change in what we do," said NBC's Reuven Frank. "We're doing more evaluating of the news but we're not bending backward for anyone." ABC News chief Lower contended that "We instituted no changes in our practice. We welcome constructive suggestions but we will not indulge in self-censorship and we will not curtail our news coverage because of criticism."

The news heads also point out some positive indications that they are not bowing before Agnew's wrath. They remind doubters that all three networks presented instant assessment of Nixon's State of the Union Message on January 22, his April 20 Vietnam report and his April and June Cambodia speeches.

CBS points out that it ignored Mrs. Nixon's Western trip (a good news story) and no network gave Agnew's first Asian jaunt more than token attention. On the other side, it could be held against CBS that its *Face the Nation* interview with Agnew on February 1 was a friendly gathering, to say the least. The Vice President was treated delicately by CBS reporters George Herman and Bruce Morton, who gave him the opportunity to admit that he might have achieved a victory over the media. "Even our management thought it was a soft interview," a top CBS newscaster said. In contrast, Dean Burch was handled rather roughly a week earlier on NBC's *Meet the Press*. But one can argue that there is a difference between a Vice President of the United States and the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. It is significant that Herman took a much tougher line with Agnew in his *Face the Nation* appearance after Nixon's first Cambodia announcement.

Cronkite followed with an even more forceful counterattack. On the night of May 21, his news show featured a rerun of a film that the network said was the target of a White House "undercover campaign to discredit CBS News." The film showed an apparently unarmed North Vietnamese prisoner being stabbed by a South Vietnamese sergeant. According to CBS, the White House felt the scene had been faked. Cronkite charged that the Administration had prodded "receptive" reporters into writing stories that the White House and the Pentagon were investigating the reporting in the film. The White House denied the allegation.

In concluding the program, Cronkite commented: "We broadcast the story in the belief that it told something about the nature of the war in Vietnam. What has happened since tells something about the government and its relations with news media which carry stories the government finds disagreeable."

Still, conciliatory gestures reflect the brooding anxiety of network managers and newsmen. With two years remaining of Nixon's term and the likelihood that he will be re-elected, they are haunted by the notion that the worst may be yet to come. Jack Gould, *The New York Times* television critic, said: "There's an edginess in TV. Everyone is jumpy. The word is out that no one should make waves. This is affecting young staff members particularly. They want to do their jobs without causing trouble."

The news executives will not admit that lower echelon reporters are buckling as a matter of policy, but they do acknowledge that they may be pulling their punches "unconsciously" from fear of getting management into trouble. Salant, an amiable and outspoken man, explained:

"Now I'm always afraid that my men will draw in their horns to avoid embarrassing me and others above them. We're not bending one bit but we have to do things to prove we're virgins." Salant's concern amused one CBS newsman who stated: "*We're* worried that the front office will cave in to Agnew."

Agnew has also stimulated self-examination and reevaluation of network newscasts by management. "We continually evaluate ourselves, but we are doing more of it now," said Reuven Frank. "In some instances we're going through silly mental exercises such as making sure that when we analyzed the President's speech once, we do it the next time."

Salant said that "We've become very self-conscious. I don't like doing artificial things, but now we check our coverage of past press conferences to make sure we haven't changed our practice to become too harsh or too lenient with the Administration."

ABC went even further. It commissioned a content analysis of its *Evening News* with Frank Reynolds and Howard K. Smith, and the *ABC Weekend News* for 1969. According to Lower, the survey found that "News which tended to support the Administration's viewpoint" totaled fourteen hours, twenty-two minutes, while news which did not added up to ten hours, fifty-four minutes. Lower

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pointed out that ABC permits Reynolds and Smith to express personal opinions, and that when so speaking the two backed the Administration for one hour and thirty minutes in contrast to one hour of contrary commentary. Lower said the ratio favored the White House on the issues of Vietnam, the ABM controversy and space flights. Smith, a dove turned hawk on Vietnam, said on one broadcast that he agreed with some of what Agnew said. He also warned his audience to "Distrust commentators . . . especially TV commentators," an observation that rankled and disgusted many video newsmen.

So why are the networks worried? The silent majority, which doesn't pay much attention to surveys, has indicated by its letters to the networks that it is on the side of Agnew and Nixon in the dispute. But there is a vocal majority which haunts the network managers even more—the hundreds of affiliated stations which are the only reason for the networks' existence. The political position of the affiliate owners is generally conservative, a fact which has emerged noticeably in the Agnew affair. The Vice President's focus on the "small and unelected elite" who operate from the New York-based networks struck a responsive chord with the Middle America affiliates. A number of them, it was learned, joined in Agnew's complaint, partly as a reflection of their own views and because of their belief that their Middle America viewers are suspicious of "Eastern liberals."

Fred W. Friendly, of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, former CBS News president, recalled that his meetings with affiliate managers "were like talking to 182 Agnews."

"They're the ones," Friendly continued, "who, the day after the network runs a special or documentary of migrant workers or some other social issue, must go before the Kiwanis or Rotary luncheon the next day and make amends to the silent majority. With one part of our souls, we in network news were doing a job for the professionals and the intellectual community, but with the other part we were writing for that majority in Nashville, Omaha and Des Moines."

Walter Cronkite, Friendly's former colleague, said the affiliate backlash was particularly powerful after Agnew's November 13 speech, with some stations demanding an end to news analysis or interpretation following a Presidential address. One Michigan affiliate blacked out the comment after Nixon's State of the Union talk, but later reversed itself and resumed carrying the network's analyses.

Said Cronkite: "The local stations are the ones affected by FCC licensing, not the networks. They're the first to become apprehensive when Agnew or anyone else in government threatens their license. The apprehension spreads to the networks. Right now, that's the word around here, apprehension." It's also the word at NBC and ABC. An NBC public relations man explained: "We've always evaluated our news content but now we're doing more evaluating. We're more vigilant about what we do."

Roger Grimsby, an ABC anchor man in New York, spoke of increased "self-examination" in his shop, adding that Agnew also changed some aspects of his, Grimsby's, personal style on the air. "Nothing has changed basically, but I'm more careful now in the phrasing of what I write. Also, if I feel that a certain facial gesture indicates that I favor or disapprove of something, I avoid using it. I don't want anyone to assume anything from the way I raise my eyebrows. But we're still acting as gadflies in interviews."

Dallas Townsend, a CBS newscaster, observed that "We haven't changed our method of handling the news but there's no doubt that the industry feels itself under pressure. In some cases there has been an overreaction to Agnew in that some stories may be getting more coverage than they deserve. This is the result of the self-consciousness brought about by his speech."

Townsend and other network newsmen conceded that Agnew might have done some good by forcing the networks to take a harder look at themselves. Charles Novitz, an ABC news writer, said Agnew's statements did not change his approach to his job but it did make him "more conscious of problems I already knew about." He said he doesn't believe that Agnew advocated censorship, but added that "the threat was there."

"Agnew simply legitimized the anti-press feeling in this country," said Jim Jensen, CBS news broadcaster. "He reinforced doubts about television. He told the silent majority, in effect, to believe the Administration rather than us. We're easy targets for criticism because we're presenting problems not solutions."

Any hope that Agnew might pull back from his anti-media campaign was reportedly dispelled at his recent appearance before the Radio and Television News Analysts Association in New York. In an off-the-record talk, Agnew, according to sources, indicated that he had no intention of dropping the issue which he considered a political boon.

This brings up the question of whether the networks will yield more ground to his assaults. Fred Friendly fears that the top network executives will use Agnew as an excuse to cut back news programming. "The tendency of these men is to do as little as possible under normal circumstances," he explained. "A news president must go through seven or eight people just to put on a special. I'm afraid now it will be harder than ever. There's so little analysis as it is. The professionals in television are not doing their best now, but they have the capability if given a chance."

The network chiefs promise that the newsmen will get the chance, but the impression is that few in the industry will go out of their way to antagonize the Administration. There has been, for example, little or no analysis or interpretation on television of such issues as the war in Vietnam, Cambodia or ABM. One critic noted: "There's been lots of analyses of the moon shots, but this is a safe subject and one which shows the Administration generally in a good light. I'd like the same treatment applied to controversial issues. It's pathetic how little prime time is devoted to news."

The first round has gone to Agnew. TV executives, although claiming a business-as-usual policy, are depressed and embittered. Nothing in television has been the same since Agnew's Des Moines speech.

"There is a threat not retracted by the government," said Chet Huntley. Richard Salant put it another way: "We're off balance." □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Who Rules the Military Roost?

PENTAGON CAPITALISM: The Political Economy of War. *By Seymour Melman. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 290 pp. $6.50.*

RICHARD F. KAUFMAN
Mr. Kaufman is on the staff of the Subcommittee on Economy in Government, chaired by Sen. William Proxmire, which has been investigating profits and costs in defense procurement.

Seymour Melman was one of the first to see the futility of the policy of guns and butter, and he had the courage to write and speak against it long before it became fashionable to do so. His *Our Depleted Society*, published in 1965, is described in the preface as an economic audit of the price that America has paid for twenty years of cold war, and in the book he wrote: "The continued, massive quest for the now-unattainable military shield has been using up so much of our treasure and our talent as to deplete the very quality of life in our country." Events of the past five years have added great weight to Melman's earlier insights. The fact that our national resources, human as well as physical, are rapidly declining into a state of exhaustion and deterioration largely because of foolish military and military-related expenditures can no longer be denied.

In *Pentagon Capitalism*, refining and extending the arguments of *Our Depleted Society* and observing that military expenditures are, in an economic sense, parasitic, Melman sets side by side an inventory and expenditure record of the military establishment and a list of the civilian goods and services foregone. Admittedly, such a profit and loss statement requires an assumption of causality. We must assume that the opportunities for civilian uses of resources were in fact lost by investing them in the military, and that they would not have been otherwise wasted. The correlation of military outlays with what is happening elsewhere in the economy is a sound but not exact approach to an analysis of the indirect costs of defense. As Harvard economist Wassily Leontief testified three years ago in hearings before the Joint Economic Committee, "If you have the one [military operations] you have to forego the other [private consumption and investment]."

Part of the evidence of opportunities foregone by the expenditure since World War II of more than a trillion dollars for military purposes, according to Melman, can be seen in the continuing "deterioration at the base of the industrial system." It is reflected in the fact that 64 per cent of metalworking machine tools used in American industry were at least ten years old in 1968; in outlays for civilian-oriented research and development, which, as a percentage of the gross national product, are about the same as Belgium's; in the technological backwardness of the U.S. iron and steel industry; in our falling behind other industrial nations, notably Japan, in several important manufacturing areas, including shipbuilding and segments of the electronics industry; in the breakdown of railroad and postal services, and in the sad state of health care: by 1967 our infant mortality rate had slipped from fifth to fifteenth among the nations of the world; death from heart disease is twice the rate of other industrial countries; hospitals and allied facilities are frequently operated under deficient conditions; there is a serious shortage of doctors and nurses, and the United States has been unable to take full advantage of new medical technology. In addition, about 10 million Americans suffer from significant malnutrition, public school systems in many large cities are overcrowded and inadequate, and in the decade ending in 1968 we built only about a tenth of the subsidized, low-rent houses required to replace units judged grossly substandard.

Melman is right to emphasize the opportunities lost as the indirect price the American people pay for military extravagance. He is right, also, to advocate major cuts in the defense budget as an antidote to the poison that has been circulating for so long in the economic system. But his interpretation of the military bureaucracy and the industry that keeps it supplied can be questioned.

One byproduct of the recent surge of interest in the growth of the military establishment is divergence of viewpoints on the nature of the animal. How does the military side of the military-industrial complex relate to the industrial side, and which, if either, is the dominant partner? One school holds that the defense contractors rule the roost, the Pentagon being nothing more than a gaggle of golden egg-laying bureaucrats. In this view—a variant of the conclusions of the Nye committee in the 1930s—a few giant aerospace concerns have captured the military arm of the government and subordinated the defense budget and foreign policy to their own financial requirements. Melman adopts the opposite position, believing that the military has taken over the defense industry and that the Defense Department is headquarters for a "state-management" which "has become a para-state, a state within a state." The state-management controls the affairs of all 20,000 defense contractors, characterized by Melman as subsidiary firms, subfirms and submanagement. The relationship is somewhat like that of General Motors' or General Electric's to their subsidiaries. Top management, located specifically in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, enforces compliance with its rules and polices its subfirms through voluminous regulations and a network of tens of thousands of government contract officers and other employees. The Defense Department determines the product (weapons), its specifications, including changes during production, the quantity and the price; retains the right to terminate or alter contracts; intervenes in the hiring, deploying and paying of the contractors' employees, and regulates profits.

State-management is seen as an outgrowth or later stage of the military-industrial complex, being for one thing more structured and tightly controlled. Organized under the direction of President Kennedy by Defense Secretary McNamara, "the architect and first chief of the state-management institution," its function is to administer the military-industrial empire. But the new imperialism is different from the older concept of foreign expansion for purposes of economic exploitation. The war in Vietnam, Melman maintains, cannot be explained on the theory that a business ruling class has employed the military in Southeast Asia for private gain. How, then, is it to be explained? By "an institutionalized power-lust," as distinguished from individual power-lust. The state-management, having been created in the name of national defense, simply thirsts for more power, it "accumulates decision-power as a priority end-in-view."

Although the thesis of state-management is a bold and imaginative attempt

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to understand the dynamics of the military establishment and its place in government and society, it fails to be convincing for several reasons. Foremost is the absence of proof. Melman leans heavily on the formal organization of the Defense Department with its myriad agencies and offices (OSD, DSA, DCAS, DCAA, et al.), employing legions of uniformed and civilian personnel; the existence of the Armed Services Procurement Regulations and other rule books (long excerpts of which he reproduces); the fact that the rules and regulations specify in great detail the conditions under which the contractors are supposed to operate, and that the legions are supposed to compel compliance with the rules. On the surface it would appear that Melman is right—the government does seem to exercise many of the prerogatives normally reserved to corporate management.

But anyone having even a passing acquaintance with government organization manuals and bureaucratic paper work knows that they are often not what they seem. The test of any bureau and set of regulations is in its performance. Before coming to any conclusions about who controls whom, we should look to see how the rules are actually applied and what the bureaucrats do. Sweetheart relationships between regulatory agencies and the businesses that are supposed to be regulated are not uncommon.

The case study is one way to find out what actually goes on. How does the government behave during the procurement of a particular weapons system? Unfortunately, *Pentagon Capitalism* does not deal in any comprehensive way with the government and its contractors in the setting that counts most—the performance of individual contracts. The closest Melman comes to such an approach is with the F-111 program, referred to several times throughout the book to support certain parts of the thesis. However, it is insufficiently developed to qualify as a case study and is an inconclusive example.

In one place, this "defective plane" is cited to illustrate the Pentagon's callous disregard of its responsibility to provide the public with an excellent product. Later, it is used to show how easily the government managers apply their regulations to exercise control over the quantity of goods produced by the contractors. The major contract, Melman states, called for 1,700 aircraft for the Air Force and the Navy. The services then changed their minds and reduced the number. One might reasonably conclude, it seems to me, that if the plane was defective the government would have been foolish not to reduce the quantity of its purchase. Reserving the right to decrease the number of units to be purchased, or not to exercise an option for additional units, does not in itself strike me as an unreasonable position for the government, or any buyer, to take when entering into a production contract. The Pentagon refused to cancel the program or shift to another contractor, Melman decides, because it wished to preserve General Dynamics in its network of industrial resources.

An equally plausible argument can be made that in this case the government only ostensibly controlled the factors of product choice, number of units and price; that real control has been exercised by the contractor and that the Air Force has had to eat a flock of swing-wing crows. The F-111 aircraft, after all, performs as General Dynamics built it to perform, despite the specifications written into the contract. The Air Force will pay about three times the price per plane originally agreed upon because that is what General Dynamics says is required to pay the costs, plus a fair profit. Late deliveries are being accepted because the government is locked in to its sole-source producer and has no alternative. The dollar amount of General Dynamic's profit has actually gone up, but the Air Force is made to spend an estimated $7.5 billion, as opposed to its earlier plan to spend $5.5 billion, while receiving about one-third the number of an aircraft much inferior to what it had bargained for. The Navy, meanwhile, has canceled its version of the F-111 and obtains none of the planes. Neither service has been able to buy any other planes to perform the function of the F-111; both have had to rely on older models, such as the F-4 developed in the 1950s. Meanwhile several other nations, including the Soviet Union, France and Sweden have produced better fighter aircraft.

These facts do not total up to a net gain for the Air Force, the Navy or the Defense Department in terms of expansion of military power or mastery of General Dynamics' industrial resources. On the other hand, neither is it clear, in this instance, that the contractor has been completely in charge of the situation. Waste and inefficiency in defense production do not necessarily signify the dominance of the military over the defense industry or vice versa. Really to understand the inner workings of this relationship one would need to have the answers to such questions as how ideas for new weapons systems originate, who decides which ones to embark upon, to what extent the awards of contracts are influenced by industry lobbyists or Congressional proponents, what part the White House plays, whether changes of specifications are initiated by the military program managers or the contractors, why the Pentagon accepts weapons that perform poorly and are delivered late.

Convincing answers to these questions simply do not exist. We do know, however, that the Pentagon's ability to control the defense industry varies from service to service, from contractor to contractor and from issue to issue. For example, it is a moot question whether the Pentagon or the contractor holds the stronger bargaining position in the current controversy with the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, which has threatened to stop work on four major programs if it is not given a $641-million bail-out. The odds, as of this writing, are that Lockheed will get all or most of the money it is demanding from the military. Not even Penn Central, a corporation whose net assets are much larger, has been able to force the government to solve its financial difficulties.

For another example, the profit regulations in the Armed Services Procurement Regulations exist only on paper. To be sure, profit *rates* are established according to the weighted guidelines formula set forth in the official regulations. But there is no way to know if contractors can influence the rates that are set on individual contracts; the rates are based on a percentage of sales, rather than return on investment, and are thus

THE PAUSE

It gets hotter as the years roll on
and harder to get a shovel into shale, —
the air is thicker in this climate, now,
even water gets warmer in my pail.

I can't remember when clay got so hard
a pick will go in scarce an inch, —
there was a time when Summer
wore a smile,
a man had no sacroiliac to pinch.

It don't help, either, to explain by tongue—
all this was easy when a man was young.

Myron Wilder

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rarely a true measure of profitability. The interlocking nature of the Defense Department and the defense industry, with the leaders of each institution moving freely from one to the other and participating in decision making on both sides of the fence, makes it impossible to avoid the possibility that at least some of the larger contractors are able to influence military policy. Further, it is essential to distinguish the giant aerospace and shipbuilding firms from the medium-size and small defense contractors. It is important to make this distinction because the military tend to treat these classes differently, favoring the giants while discriminating against the smaller firms.

While there can be little doubt that the power of the central government has increased dangerously over the past several decades, and that we are threatened with militarism, it is evident that the influence of the large industrial corporations has also increased, and that especially the aerospace industries pose an equivalent menace. If the Pentagon has succeeded in co-opting the defense industry, as *Pentagon Capitalism* maintains, the evidence that would demonstrate this event has not yet been brought forth. Melman paints a picture of a monolithic organization, the para-state, into which the old elites of industrial management, finance and government have merged and over which the Secretary of Defense rules. The federal government does not serve nor regulate business, the author states. "Government *is* business." But the facts do not support Melman's view. Neither would they support the contrary allegation, that business is government. Somewhere between the two poles lies the truth of the matter. □

The Example of Lippmann

EARLY WRITINGS. *By Walter Lippmann. Liveright Publishing Co. 340 pp. $7.50.*

PAUL ROAZEN

Mr. Roazen is the author of Freud: Political and Social Thought *and of the recently published* Brother Animal: The Story of Freud and Tausk (*both Knopf*). *He teaches political theory at Harvard.*

Walter Lippmann is the foremost American political pundit of our century. For sixty years he has been surveying public events with detached intelligence. Even Lippmann's preference as to Presidential candidates has long been newsworthy, though often regrettable. Never temperamentally happy with muckraking, his courage has come instead in his ability to think through issues with clarity, consecutiveness, and above all, independence. In the light of the readiness with which established academicians let themselves be used by politicians, Lippmann, who needed the cooperation of politicians for his kind of work, becomes all the more noteworthy in his achievement.

A founding editor of the *New Republic*, later an editor of the *New York World*, and for more than three decades the author of a celebrated syndicated column, "Today and Tomorrow," Lippmann is by now an institution in American politics. Such a career within the Establishment requires (and enables) a man to keep his ear very much to the ground. At least until his recent retirement from Washington, he regularly dined out in political society and remained on intimate terms with the major policy makers of the Western world.

Yet Lippmann always held back a portion of his mind from the treadmill of column writing and political reportage. During his undergraduate years at Harvard, in the famous class of 1910, Lippmann had genuinely impressed men like William James, George Santayana and Graham Wallas; they immediately recognized the quality of his intellect, and he has remained loyal to their spirit in his continuing concern with serious political and social thought. His *Public Opinion*, published in 1922, is by now a modern classic in the use of psychological insights to illuminate problems in political theory, and it remains his greatest single contribution to social philosophy. There is an inevitable gap, Lippmann had argued, between the complex outside world and the stereotyped pictures we carry around in our heads, so that we can know only indirectly the confusing environment in which we nevertheless live. A pseudo-environment comes to govern our behavior. For half a century Lippmann has pondered the implications of this for his own democratic convictions. If in many cases men respond as powerfully to fictions as they do to realities, and even sometimes help create the very fictions to which they respond, what then becomes of the possibility of successful direction of public affairs?

In the course of his long career Lippmann has been involved with almost every major trend in American political and social thought. Certainly he has been unable, or too honest, to be a consistent system builder. A Socialist in college, and subsequently an admirer of Teddy Roosevelt's New Nationalism, Lippmann later became an eloquent advocate of Woodrow Wilson's internationalism. (Lippmann is said to have had a major hand in drafting the Fourteen Points.) In addition, he ranks as one of the 1920s' most brilliantly skeptical commentators on the vulgarities of Babbittry.

Lippmann after the 1929 crash was an early pre-Keynesian proponent of counter-cyclical economic planning, but then he turned into a tough critic of the whole New Deal. Always cosmopolitan, he did not hesitate to propose American involvement in Europe in the late 1930s, and yet after World War II he was one of the earliest to caution against the extent of American overinvolvement in the affairs of the world. In each of these very different and often inconsistent phases Lippmann has not tried to be a moral prophet, but has expressed his likes and dislikes in terms of a reasoned understanding of the issues he saw at stake. A full-scale biography of Walter Lippmann would amount almost to an account of the history of political ideas in America over the better part of this century. Unfortunately, he has been consistently guarded and protective about the intrusions of scholarship, and so standoffish as to refuse regularly even to be interviewed. This author of about two dozen books has, however, started depositing his papers at Yale, and intellectual biographies of him will eventually emerge; but they will be the poorer for not being infused with knowledge of the man.

Perhaps the peak of Lippmann's conservatism came during the Eisenhower years, when the incompetence of small-town businessmen in high public office helped to evoke his most elitist proclivities. In his *Public Philosophy* (1955), a natural law critique of democratic government, Lippmann found himself having to reassure the reader that he was not advocating a contraction of the franchise. And yet his writing continued to belie his most reactionary principles; in seeking all these years to be a public educator, Lippmann has never lost the rationalist faith that clearheadedness on public matters can be effectively communicated to the people. He has not relinquished the democratic ideal that the people can be rallied in the defense of the public interest.

Lippmann's *Early Writings* is a collection from his first few years of work, when he struck many as a most precocious young man with an inborn talent for writing lucid, serious prose.

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All these articles appeared in the *New Republic* during the years from 1914 to 1920; many of them were published anonymously at the time, so it is only now that we can be certain of their authorship. The whole course and rationale of America's initial emergence from isolationism can be found reflected here, along with an account of the hopeful attitude liberals adopted to the increased central power of the modern Presidency. Some fifty-odd years later Lippmann might no longer complain of the dangers of the paralysis of government: the end of his Washington career was preceded by a well-publicized controversy with President Johnson over Lippmann's lack of subservience on the issue of Vietnam.

Aside from acute commentary on current events in that long past era, none of which has grown stale, some memorable pieces in the collection can stand on their own: an account of the fight to appoint Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court; descriptions of the Presidential conventions of 1916 and 1920, rivaling the pungency of H. L. Mencken at his best; thumbnail sketches of forgotten political figures like Leonard Wood, Frank Lowden and W. G. McAdoo; essays with barely suppressed indignation at the quality of arguments used to oppose progressive social legislation such as child labor bills and minimum wage proposals; and a perceptive and generous appraisal of Freud's stature in the modern world. The whole collection is lively and spirited, and a welcome reminder of the tribute due to the entire corpus of Lippmann's writings. □

The 'Success' of Robert Frost

ROBERT FROST: The Years of Triumph, 1915-1938. *By Lawrance Thompson. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 744 pp. $15.*

ROBERTS W. FRENCH
Mr. French is associate editor of The Massachusetts Review. *He is editing the letters of Rolfe Humphries.*

Volume I, *The Early Years*, told us of the humiliations, disappointments, resentments and defeats of the young Frost. But that was all right: we knew all along that he would Make It and become *Robert Frost*, America's best-loved poet, four times winner of the Pulitzer Prize, recipient of honorary degrees from forty-four colleges and universities, holder of a Congressional Gold Medal, speaker at the inauguration of a President, best-selling author, and the rest of it. Volume II, *The Years of Triumph*, tells us how it happened. The biographer naturally rejoices in the success of his subject, but the biography can only make us wonder why he is rejoicing.

What Frost wanted, he achieved: fame, honor, recognition, "success." He was widely read and widely praised. People bought his books and displayed them in living rooms across the land. He became first a Personality and then an Institution. "I am become a name," he might have said, echoing one of the mythological heroes upon whose example he fashioned the mythological dimensions of his life. By his quick wits, he vanquished his enemies and triumphed over adversity. The reader may recall, from Volume I, how Frost had left Salem Depot as a boy of 14, crying bitterly and vowing to a schoolmate, "You wait. Some day, I'll come back to Salem Depot—and show them." He showed them.

It is all too neat, like Milton vowing in his youth to become a great poet and then having the audacity to become one. But here they are, the "years of triumph." What is not clear, however, is just what the triumph was. The book begins with the Frosts returning from England; there is no one at the dock to greet them. It ends in a greater loneliness, with the poet brooding upon the death of his wife, wishing that he could join her. In between, there are various kinds of failure, the most immediate having to do with his family. Certainly Frost was not a triumphant father, and even Lawrance Thompson, who is most reluctant to pass judgment, admits that Frost put his art first, "most of the time, and all else came second—including his wife and children." (This judgment will not be found in the main text, however; it is deeply buried in the notes at the end of the book.) At the time of his wife's death, Frost's estrangement from his children was such that only his son, Carol, would take him in; and as Thompson admits, "there had never been any sustained affection between him and his father." Two years later, in 1940, Carol committed suicide.

What, then, about the art for which Frost neglected his family? These years of triumph were largely taken up with teaching, lecturing, and all the many distractions that go with public recognition. The poetry was often neglected; and yet Frost seemed to welcome his public role. It was, after all, what he had wanted. As he wrote to John Bartlett in the first glow of acclaim: "One likes best to write poetry and one knew that he did that before one got even one reputation. Still, one can't pretend not to like to win the game. One can't help thinking a little of Number One."

More succinctly, he said to Mark Van Doren, "There can only be one heavyweight champion at a time," and once he felt that he had knocked out Edwin Arlington Robinson—whose generous treatment of Frost contrasts so strikingly with Frost's petty vindictiveness toward him—he was ready to consider himself the champ. Still, since the championship could be lost as well as won, he had to remain alert in order to be sure that any contenders were properly put down. That there might have been any deep tensions between Frost the poet and Frost the public figure is barely suggested in this biography, and yet Frost himself must have felt that the years were not so triumphant as his biographer suggests. "I'm a good teacher," he remarked to a Boston newspaper reporter in 1916, "but it doesn't allow me time to write. I must either teach or write: can't do both together. But I have to live. . . ." Less than a year later he went to Amherst to teach, and for the next twenty years he was involved in teaching. To what extent did he feel that his professing stifled his poetry? His biographer is aware of the problem, but little is said about it.

From time to time, however, something emerges. What did Frost mean when he wrote to Untermeyer in 1930: "Sometimes I almost cry I am afraid I am such a bad poet." Did he drop the mask for a moment? Frost was always extremely careful to conceal himself, but there were times when he revealed more than he cared to, as in his remark to Untermeyer when Elinor Frost was recovering from surgery for cancer: "I have had almost too much of her suffering in this world." (With characteristic circumspection, Frost wrote to Untermeyer the next day to ask that the letter containing this remark be destroyed.) Another telling of Frost's life might well emphasize what this one tends to conceal—that these years of triumph were full of gloom and guilt, and that the triumph was more hollow than Frost would have liked to admit.

One would think that for a poet, the real triumph would be to write good poems, but there is little about

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Frost's poetry in this book. The biographer just doesn't seem interested; he squeezes the poetry into parenthetical asides, like "During the past years, while fewer and fewer of his poems were appearing in print, he had written enough of them to increase his confidence in his having improved his capacities." We would like to know more, but the matter is immediately dropped. Indeed, we must read halfway through the book before we see the creation of a poem. The poem is "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening," and the information given about it is worth having. But this is an exception.

One may learn many things from reading this biography. One learns, for example, where Frost was at a given time, what house he was living in, where he was giving his readings, what he was saying in his public utterances, and what he was writing in his letters. But what poems was Frost writing, and when? Under what circumstances? What was he reading? What was he learning about his craft? How was he developing as a poet? Such information is not provided.

In place of discussion of the poetry, there are prolonged discussions of Frost's pedagogy, politics and religion, supported by many of Frost's public and private statements on the subjects. It would seem that, for his biographer, Frost's triumph consisted in his wide acclaim as a professor and philosophical commentator. Thus we are told at length of Frost's successes as a teacher, and of his conservative political views, and of his firm Christian convictions. These are important matters, surely, but they are not more important than the poetry; and to treat them as though they were is to demonstrate a serious lack of balance and proportion.

As disturbing as the exclusion of the poetry is the exclusion of the poet. The Frost who taught and lectured and read, the public Frost, appears in full length, but the one who wrote the poetry, the one who matters, has been left out. It is of course the public Frost who is more readily accessible to the scholar, and that is part of the problem. Much Frost material is available, and his biographer has been undeniably zealous in digging it out and presenting it, even to the point of exhaustion. There seems to be an unspoken need to get it all in somehow; if not in the 500 pages of text, then in the 200 pages of notes. What the reader is given in this biography—as, one might add, in recent works on Hemingway, Hart Crane and Pound—is great accumulation of detail; when what he needs is less detail and a clearer principle of selection. Much of the information is insignificant or of dubious relevance; as a result, the poet is lost in a mass of data, much of it included, one begins to feel, simply because it is there. What does the middle initial "R." stand for in the name of an obscure Amherst real estate agent? It stands for Rebecca; the agent, we are told, conferred the initial upon himself in order to commemorate a girl he had loved and lost. But why do we need to know this? Well, the material was available. Why are we told what Amy Lowell said when she shared the lecture platform with Frost? Why are we given pages of excerpts from a letter that Ferner Nuhn sent to Frost about "Build Soil?" Why are we given pages of quotations from silly reviews and interviews? Well, the material was available. *But what did these things mean to Frost?* We are not told.

We would like to know what made Frost into the poet he was, but that is a task for another biographer. In the meantime we have this book, and for that we should be grateful. Professor Thompson has been as industrious as he has been dedicated, and his work is obviously of the first importance. Whatever one's disagreements with the kind of book this biography turned out to be, there are moving and revealing things in it; if only for its finest moments, it ought to be read. No doubt, the scandalous revelations will be emphasized in the press, and that is unfortunate. A great many people thought that Frost was a saint; now they find that he wasn't, and so call him a monster. But they may be wrong again. He was a man, one of us, and life was often difficult for him. Finally, there is more to be praised than to be condemned. □

Betraying the Establishment

THE END OF THE AMERICAN ERA. *By Andrew Hacker. Atheneum Publishers. 239 pp. $6.50.*

O. EDMUND CLUBB

Mr. Clubb is the author of Twentieth Century China (*Columbia University Press*).

In 1960, under the auspices of Henry R. Luce, there was published a volume incorporating a *Life* series devoted to "The National Purpose." Various prominent Americans contributed to the symposium. Archibald MacLeish voiced the contributors' evident general concern by saying that "Something is wrong and we know it." He discarded facile political explanations of the recent past: "We have outgrown the adolescent time when everything that was wrong with America was the fault of the Russians and all we needed to do to be saved was to close the State Department and keep the Communists out of motion pictures. It isn't just the Russians now; it's ourselves."

Now, ten years later, Prof. Andrew Hacker of Cornell has produced a book which proclaims that "Only a few decades remain to complete the era America will have known as a nation." He does not fix the *beginning* of the American era, so the reader is without a sure bench mark. Given the thematic treatment, however, one must assume that the author harks back to the Declaration of Independence as starting point for the time when Americans were possessed of a sense of mission—which by his definition is essential for a nation determined to be an "international power."

Professor Hacker works from the assumption that *every* nation has an age of ascendency and one of decline. Like some of the writers a decade before him, he discerns clear signs of decay in the American present, but he marshals no array of scholarly data to support his thesis. His book is full of sweeping generalizations, usually unsupported by any references to facts, with one generality sometimes colliding with another. He seems to entertain no doubts, he offers few qualifications; but some of his propositions are beyond crediting.

Hacker finds that the present human condition in America lacks the prerequisites for national greatness. Virtually all successful Americans, he asserts, are now middle class, with middle-class values. Here we run into one self-contradiction: while reiterating that today's Americans do not differ from their forebears, Hacker is soon found granting that the questioning of values is now far more general than in the past, and he concludes that the opportunities offered Americans by the age in which they live have served to transmute their character.

Future America, Hacker propounds, is to be discovered by study of the corporation. Corporations are free to act as they please, and they possess power without a human constituency. They do, however, employ vast numbers of personnel, needed and unneeded, and thus out of corporate capitalism comes "cor-

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porate citizenship," with those middle-class beneficiaries "freer, happier, and more secure than any similar group in the nation's history." But, he warns on the other hand, some of them too have their insecurities and discontents, and might prove dangerous "were all the white-collar water to be wrung out of the corporate world." Then there are the "unincorporated Americans," comprising the unskilled and partially employed. Concurrently, "trade unions are in a relative state of decline," with diminished role, and this circumstance deprives society of a check against corporate power. Finally there are the "superfluous Americans," defined as those who have failed in "a society that expects success of its citizens." The class struggle in America is between the affluent and the superfluous Americans. To that compound Hacker adds the black-white confrontation, making the present division look like apartheid and depicting future conflict in extreme terms.

Hacker has little leaven in his loaf. He depreciates the extent of alienation of college youth: "The great majority of undergraduates . . . would like nothing better than a good berth in Ford or Texaco." He deprecates liberalism, as being "essentially an exercise in middle-class self-indulgence . . . a mode of expression for comfortably situated citizens who wish to appear progressive in outlook without having to pay too high a price for their principles." As for the academic life, he finds scholarship in decline, with research largely concerned with the esoteric if not the occult. Americans, he contends, refuse their government the wherewithal to carry out national programs, and in particular begrudge taxes; they actually oppose governmental initiative in general: "Americans are no longer willing or able to be led." He concludes—still without adducing evidence—that "the United States has as powerless a government as any developed nation of the modern world."

We are brought to the crux of the matter: "To be a nation . . . a society must have a citizenry willing to surrender a substantial portion of its freedom to public authority." This thought is projected, in the last dozen pages, into the matter of the American international involvement—not with reference to the *substance* of U.S. foreign policy "but rather our ability to pursue the goals we have chosen." Thus proceeding without any consideration of first premises, Hacker offers a theorem: "The frustrations that have marred so many of this country's overseas endeavors can be directly attributed to the mentality of postwar America." There is "an obdurate unwillingness" of Americans to endure "considerable" sacrifices at home in order to support official positions abroad. Postwar only? Not at all! In World War II "why . . . did the United States not rout its enemies in a year and a half or, at most, two years?" Without giving specific answer to that intriguing question, he hints at the presumed obvious one by explaining that the real point of his question has to do with "our less than total mobilization of human and industrial resources." There is no reference to the enemy—even left unidentified—or to enemy capacities. His logic leads almost automatically to his conclusion:

> Were Americans at home willing to live more austerely, this nation would have the wherewithal to underwrite a most impressive military effort, even including the creature comforts we bestow upon those in uniform. And if our fighting forces could dispense with some of their amenities and non-combatant contingents, *the United States could well field an army sufficient to police the world.* (Emphasis added.)

But Hacker resigns himself to reality: that human condition is absent. So this decadent nation has the option of carrying on with the postwar commitment of superintending much of the world, with the danger that, in the frustration of repeated failures, we shall succumb to the impulse "to use our ultimate weapons to destroy, once and for all, the leading powers that have encouraged half the globe to hate and harass us." Or, alternatively, we might simply acknowledge "that we lack the will to carry out a worldwide mission of redemption and reform." His brief evaluation of the American reaction to the war in Vietnam (and he refrains from asking why it was not won in, "at most, two years") illustrates his rationale: that undertaking became increasingly unpopular in the United States, he says, chiefly "because many Americans began to sense that their nation no longer had a message to impart."

Thus, "America's history as a nation has reached its end." There will indeed be Americans still, but their only remaining choice will be to learn to live with the dangers and discomforts attendant upon a disintegrating society.

None will deny that the topic to which Hacker addresses himself merits study. But, just what *is* wrong? To be rather more specific than he, there are in the United States many signs of malfunctioning of the system as such, whether with respect to political representation, traditional democratic freedoms, racial relations, the state of the economy, the husbanding of natural resources, or even the maintenance of a habitable ecology. Abroad there is the Indochinese War, which arouses a more broadly based American dissent than Hacker would have us believe. That war derives from, and is expressive of, a grand strategy of interventionism in furtherance of what we may arbitrarily deem to be our "national interest," frequently in defiance of existing international law, as often in harsh disregard as well of world opinion. The United States as self-elected "leader of the free world" is seen not furthering the cause of democracy but buttressing reactionary dictatorships around the world. And then again, this rich country is discovered extracting in sum total much greater value *from* the poor and underdeveloped countries than it contributes *to* them through its "aid" programs.

There is a "revolution of rising expectations" in the Third World which will probably not countenance much longer a process designed to make the United States always richer—at the expense of the needier. Nor, in the longer term, can mankind generally be expected to accept the American national interest as sufficient warrant for our playing the role of world policeman. And in the United States, too, there is a revolution of rising expectations—one of aspirations for a more reasonable and just way of life than that envisaged by the 18th-century concept of laissez faire and the 19th-century urge to fulfill a messianic "manifest destiny."

This points up the major failing of Hacker's work. He accepts without chal-

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lenge the Establishment and its policies; it is the people, he considers, who have failed their government—not the other way around. It doesn't seem to strike him that a large body of Americans might effectively dispute certain national foreign policy tenets which they find unsuited to today's world; or that they would undertake to discard or alter some established domestic institutions as no longer relevant to the times. At one point, he holds that "What is lacking . . . is any impetus to change accustomed behavior." There *is* such an impetus—but the direction of the change which is sought is antagonistic to the national purposes as defined by recent administrations in Washington.

Walter Lippmann, writing in that work on "The National Purpose" of a decade ago, came out with a more cogent analysis in a few pages than Hacker achieves in his book. Said Mr. Lippmann: "The formulations of national purpose which were made in the first half of this century are now inadequate." But he didn't despair. The answer was to be found, he believed, in the innovation of political formulas and practical programs for the realization of American ideals in the greatly changed world in which we live; "For it is not the nation which is old, but only its leaders."

Given the inflexibility of an American leadership devoted to obsolete patterns of political behavior, this will almost certainly not turn out to be the "American Century" contemplated in 1945 by Henry R. Luce. Nevertheless, manifold and persistent affronts by the United States to "the opinions of mankind" in the domestic and foreign fields constitute strong stimuli for fundamental changes in policy orientation, and it seems logical to anticipate that the emergence of fresh political leadership, interacting with exigent popular demands, may well bring about basic—and favorable—changes in our national structure and priorities. Admittedly, the American future seems destined to be attended by some severe trials and grave dangers; nevertheless, that future will probably arrive in different shape from what is predicted in so simplistic a fashion by Hacker. It would seem premature to read a funeral oration over the nation: it would appear more in line with probabilities only to write finis to various American policies and institutions. □

Art as Words as Art

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MARCEL DUCHAMP. *By Arturo Schwarz. Harry N. Abrams. 75 color, 690 black-and-white illustrations. 630 pp. $50.*

NOTES AND PROJECTS FOR THE LARGE GLASS. *By Marcel Duchamp. Edited by Arturo Schwarz. Harry N. Abrams. 217 pp. $35.*

GRAPEFRUIT. *By Yoko Ono. Simon & Schuster. Unpaginated. $3.50.*

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

The prestige of giving up art, for reasons of personal secession, psychological conflict, or social persecution, at times seems to outweigh our respect for the struggle to keep producing it. Of the interrupted artists Duchamp has a particular eminence. And now a twin monument has appeared, a Laurel and Hardy pair of volumes, one fat and square, the other long and thin, the first a catalog *raisonné* and the second a collection of Duchamp's writings, both prepared by Arturo Schwarz, art dealer and, under the name Tristan Survage, poet.

To take the fat one first, *The Complete Works*, it should be said that the best section deals with Duchamp as a chess player, the game for which he gave art up, almost. In an earlier catalog *raisonné* (Robert Lebel, 1959) Duchamp was credited with 208 works, but Schwarz has almost doubled the number. The effect of this abundance, however, is not to reveal Duchamp as covertly productive but to concentrate his significance, more decisively than ever, in a single period. Of the first 115 items in the catalog, for instance, covering 1902-1909, only seventeen are paintings; the bulk of the entries describe pages from sketchbooks ("everyone had them" in those days, Duchamp explained once) or funny drawings for magazines. In 1910 he got going as a painter and in 1911 as a Cubist painter, but his Cubism is scenic and associative—with genre references, which clearly affiliate him with Cubism's conservatives, not with Picasso and Braque.

In 1913 Duchamp stopped painting in traditional forms to work on what became "The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even," also known as the Large Glass from the medium of its construction. For ten years Duchamp worked on it and, at the same time, devised schemes for Readymades (that is, objects claimed for art by an act of choice): it is a heroic episode in 20th-century art, comparable in intensity to, say, Picasso before 1913 and Chirico before 1917. Thus, what Schwarz's catalog emphasizes is that Duchamp was a slow starter, a timid Cubist (though a subtle one), a seminal figure, and for the last thirty years of his life, from the age of 37, an occasional artist of variants, some trivial, some lively, of his great period. It is as if Rimbaud had become a librarian.

It is no exaggeration to speak of a great period and it is represented in detail in the tall thin book, *Notes and Projects for the Large Glass*. This is a comprehensive and more refined version of the English translation and typographical version of ten years ago by G. H. Hamilton and Richard Hamilton, a fact which is somewhat underacknowledged by Schwarz in a failure of editorial frankness. The notes are, in the original, a heap of separate bits of paper, in facsimile, loose in a box, i.e., in random order. The usual relation of preparatory notes to a major terminal work was inverted as Duchamp worked; finally the Glass appears as much a justification of the notes as their summary and outcome. The Glass, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, seems a bit pale and small compared to the generative treasury of the notes. They are a critical inspection of and meditation on the emerging iconography and processes of the Glass. There are speculation on perspective and language, and notes for erotic and mechanical programs—some sibylline, some salacious. The whole, taken as a game of classification, as a celebration of the pleasures of arbitrary systems, exceeds the Glass. The notes read like the work of a freaked-out M. Teste. One deals with "a geographic 'landscapism'" which has no counterpart in the Glass itself: count "the number of houses in each village, or then again number of Louis XV chairs in each house," a kind of proposal elaborated by young artists in the 1960s.

In *The Complete Works* Schwarz has a great care for accuracy, but in a small radius—no greater than Duchamp's presence, in fact. The rest of 20th-century art exists as a perfunctory and flattering background for his hero. In such a fat book, for instance, the unsettled relation of Duchamp and Italian Futurism remains unsettled, with placatory references to mutual sovereignty. In 1912 Duchamp wrote lyrically of a car driven at night: "The headlight child will be the instrument conquering this Jura-Paris road. This headlight child could, graphically, be a comet, which would

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have its tail in front. . . ." Instead of talking about Duchamp not knowing the Italian artists well or having different aims, which is what Schwarz does, why not just compare this with Marinetti's long account in the "Foundation Manifesto of Futurism," of driving at night—published in *Le Figaro*, in French, three years earlier. If there is no connection, the differences in the artists' handling of technology should be discussed and their positions clarified.

As a substitute for art history or art criticism, Schwarz uses Freudian psychology for the life and Jungian psychology for the work. His theory, applied with the crudeness of the most ancient psychoanalysts, has to do with incest and involves Duchamp's two sisters. His Jungian notions about alchemy probably have a limited relevance, but they seem inordinately overdone in the absence of other interpretations. Having thus separated his man from culture and history, Schwarz projects freedom and audacity onto Duchamp's every gesture, whereas my impression is of a patient, retentive and defensive man, protected by irony from the invasion of understanding. Typically, Duchamp resumed art, on a major scale, at the end of his life, but without informing Schwarz, who had been preparing these books for years. This work (also at Philadelphia) is Duchamp's last alibi, to confound those who had thought him summed up as an *ex*-artist.

The fact that notes for the Glass are as interesting as the final object and that the notes include propositions for Readymades, combine to corrode the authority of art as a unique handmade object. Duchamp extended aesthetics to include verbal forms, on the one hand, and preexisting objects on the other. A good example is his note to himself to "Find inscription for Woolworth Bldg. as readymade" (he never did). Assuming, as Duchamp did, that interpretation arises as much from the usage of others as from the intention of artists, we can say that Duchamp has been exceptionally lucky in his followers. His idea of a verbal-conceptual art operating in the gaps between the fields of pure medium arts has prospered. Consider the following quotations, from an artist, a poet, a composer and Yoko Ono, and all from the year 1961. George Brecht quoted, among comparable pieces of his own, Duchamp's prescription for a musical sculpture: "Sounds lasting and leaving from/different places and/forming/a sounding sculpture which lasts." Jackson McLow proposed making a film by training a static camera for hours on "a tree . . . or mountain, sea, flowers, lake, etc.," a pastoral anticipation of Warhol. La Monte Young published a book of *Compositions*, the first of which reads: "Composition 1961, no 1, Jan. 1, Draw a straight line and follow it," and this is repeated on twenty-eight different dates through the year. In the same year Yoko Ono wrote her *Number Piece, 1*: "Count all the words in the book/instead of reading them."

Yoko Ono's *Grapefruit*, a book of "instruction paintings," first published in 1964, has had an underground celebrity ever since. Her marriage to John Lennon (the writing Beatle) has revivified this document of early American conceptual art, shall I call it? It owes a debt to Duchamp as well as possessing its own Haiku sort of elegance, as in "Painting To Be Slept On:" "Hang it after sleeping on it for more/than 100 nights." Now that Conceptual art is on the threshold of total publicity, this is probably the last time, for a few years, that it will be possible to consider Duchamp in relative seclusion, apart from a proliferation of words-as-art, statistics-as-art, and, sometimes, words-as-ideas. □

THEATRE / Julius Novick

Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

Among liberals and radicals, nostalgia has always been somewhat under a cloud. We are still in many respects the heirs of the 19th century, even when we refuse to admit it, and even the most cynical among us find it hard not to preserve at least a residual belief in the 19th-century doctrine of progress (in spite of the fact that we are now living in the future to which 19th-century thinkers looked forward so eagerly). Progress, of course, implies that the future has at least a chance of being better than the past; nostalgia implies that the past, or at least *a* past, is to be preferred to either the present or the future; to the progressive thinker, that is heresy. Nostalgia is reactionary in its tendency, or even counterrevolutionary—though few people take it seriously enough to bother calling it names.

But nostalgia is an expression of something very deep in us, that causes us to remember or invent a time of security, stability and love, and to long to return to that time, if only in fantasy. To satisfy this longing is an ancient function of the theatre (Aristophanes, that old reactionary, dealt in it extensively).

Among young people, the craving is not intense (young people have too much invested in the future), but it grows on you as you get older. Since older people, in our society, form most of the audience for legitimate theatre, our theatre concerns itself with nostalgia on a tremendous scale, and provides such enterprises as *Hello, Dolly!* and *Fiddler on the Roof*. The example of *Fiddler*, a musical about poverty, persecution and pogroms, also shows that the elements that appeal to nostalgia can be found in circumstances that must have been absolute hell to live through.

As the dramatic critic Jerry Tallmer once pointed out, it is eminently possible to feel nostalgia for something you have never experienced. Many people enjoy dreaming about old England—not only Englishmen but Canadians and Americans and, for all I know, Frenchmen and Japanese as well. Any time before World War I will do, but England in the reign of Victoria is best of all. Millions of bustling moderns, from an amazing variety of nations and walks of life, groove today on the certitudes and comforts of Victorian England. Hence the undiminished popularity, eighty years after their topical allusions began going out of date, of Gilbert and Sullivan; hence the amazing international success of the television version of *The Forsyte Saga*.

Paradoxically enough, this nostalgia

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for Victorian England has a great deal to do with the continuing popularity of some of the Victorian writers who felt the limitations, the injustices and hypocrisies of their time most keenly; the great rebels can now be enjoyed as exponents of what they rebelled against. And not without reason. No man is totally independent of his environment; Victorian rebels were Victorians too.

The most perfect case in point is that of George Bernard Shaw, who was a "damned crank" in his own day (Edward VII said so); but today he is a darling of the bourgeoisie. Shaw helped us to become different from the Victorians; now he helps us to remember and even love them. Nothing in the dialogue or action of his plays could possibly be as upsetting as the frock coats and long dresses and parlormaids are reassuring. (This does not mean, I hope, that audiences have simply learned to lick off the sugar and spit out the pill; they may come because they like the sugar, but it is not inconceivable that they go home with at least a little of old Doctor Shaw's bracing medicine inside them.) And this state of affairs, I think, explains the combined artistic and financial success of the Shaw Festival at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.

Every summer the Shaw Festival mounts one play by Shaw, one non-Shavian comedy that might be expected to appeal to the Shaw Festival's audience and, in between these two major productions, one miscellaneous attraction in keeping with the Festival's character. This season's Shaw play was *Candida*, with Frances Hyland, Tony van Bridge and Stanley Holloway. *Candida* was followed by *G.K.C.*, a one-man show in which Mr. van Bridge impersonated Chesterton, Shaw's good friend and frequent antagonist in debate. (Chesterton was fat, nostalgic, hearty and orthodox, so that he and Shaw must have made a striking combination.) Van Bridge, a proficient, charming and somewhat stout actor, has everything it takes to become the leading Chesterton impersonator of his day; but his show, which consists of excerpts from Chesterton's writings, raises the question of the extent to which Chesterton is worth impersonating. It is all undoubtedly cheerful, and undoubtedly clever; but though van Bridge is splendid, the material seemed to me a little too insistently waggish.

G.K.C. was followed by the North American première of *Forty Years On* by Alan Bennett—marking the first time that the Shaw Festival has taken the chance of exposing its audience to a contemporary play. But *Forty Years On*, a London success two seasons ago, turns out to be very nicely suited to the Shaw Festival audience. The play offers a somewhat impressionistic account of the last eighty years or so of English history, in the form of an end-of-term extravaganza, with songs, presented by the boys at an English public school on the occasion of the retirement of their headmaster.

Mr. Bennett, the author, was a member of the famous quartet who wrote and performed *Beyond the Fringe*. His new work, too, is a sort of revue, a series of sketches set (this time) into a framework. Much of it sounds rather like *Beyond the Fringe*, only, if anything, funnier. *Beyond the Fringe* was not exactly guerrilla theatre but it was distinctly skeptical about established authorities, and it could scarcely be viewed as Conservative Party propaganda; in *Forty Years On* the retiring headmaster, who speaks for the past, is a running fount of marvelous fatuities: "Doubtless, the future will see many changes. Well, perhaps that is what the future is for." "God is not mocked, and if He is, I'm not." "I'm all in favor of free expression so long as it is kept under control."

But oddly enough, the nostalgia in *Forty Years On* seems to be essentially genuine. Like so many of the insurgent British writers of the late 1950s or early 1960s, Bennett seems to have mellowed, or soured, into something of a conservative; he seems half-inclined to agree with Max Beerbohm that those whom the gods loved died in August 1914. Some of the evocations of past glories and delights are sincerely done, and quite touching. Like John Osborne and others, Bennett seems to be disgusted with the shoddy, small-souled, gracelessness he finds in postwar England.

This of course is a partial view. But even the most comfortable among us, nowadays, in America even more than in Canada or Britain, seem to be aware that something is missing from our shiny modern lives; perhaps a sympathetic look at the past—even other people's past—even, or especially, an idealized past—will help to give us some idea of what it is we're missing. In *Forty Years On*, moreover, there is plenty of satire, parody, and miscellaneous buffoonery to keep the nostalgia from becoming maudlin or pompous.

The Shaw Festival has provided not only a sympathetic audience for *Forty Years On* but also a nearly impeccable production; I doubt if the play could be done as well in this country, unless Equity allowed the importation of an all-British cast. Four of the five adult actors in the Shaw Festival production were born in England, including Paxton Whitehead, who also directed. Mr. Whitehead (the artistic director of the Festival) takes the part that the author played in London—a junior master who turns up in various guises in the play within the play—and he is very funny. The outgoing headmaster, played by John Gielgud in London, is admirably played in Canada by an English actor named Robert Harris. The principals are supported by seventeen boys of varying ages, recruited mostly from Canadian equivalents of the English public schools; these boys have an air of authenticity that American stage kids would find it very difficult to duplicate.

There were plans to present *Forty Years On* in New York, but they were abandoned, according to *Variety*, when Clive Barnes went to London, saw the show, and panned it. Perhaps it wouldn't have had a chance in New York anyway, in spite of its nostalgic quality. Too many specifically British allusions—the New York audience doesn't know from Lady Ottoline Morrell. But Bennett is an intelligent writer, and he is offering us some notions and attitudes which, in spite of the widespread appeal of basic gut nostalgia ("Those Were the Days, My Friend"), are not very frequently and fully encountered in the United States, and which deserve to be heard and understood. I don't really, seriously believe that those *were* the days, and I doubt that Bennett really does either; but it is not necessary to adopt a point of view in order to be enriched by it. □

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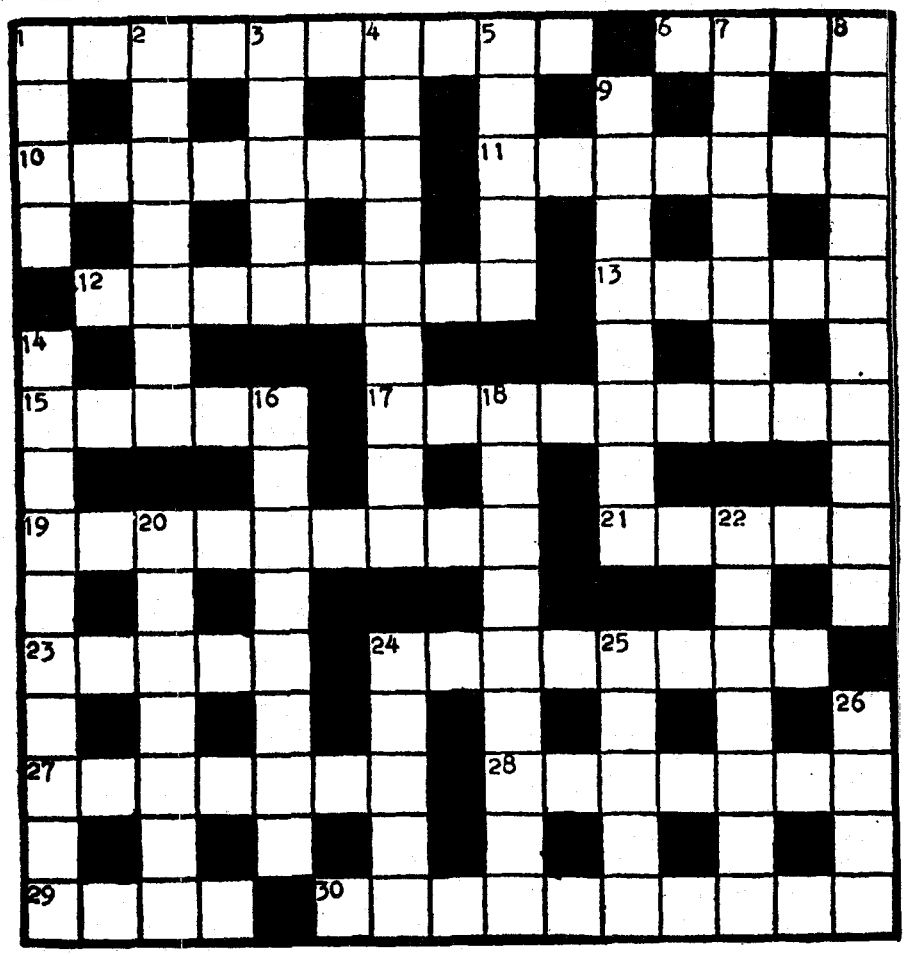
Crossword Puzzle No. 1358

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Set in comparison with spars, particularly those with a light inside. (5,5)
6 Tend to be an intellectual faculty, or follow orders. (4)
10 A two-masted vessel on top, as some may put on the dog. (7)
11 A branch of learning, though its dues might be something of a problem. (7)
12 Keeps company with some of those in the royal family? (8)
13 Lower in temperature. (5)
15 His duck on stage was wild! (5)
17 Rarely used as a synonym? (9)
19 For its size, it might have a lot of volume. (9)
21 Such marbles are not from Illinois. (5)
23 A later variety of mammal. (5)
24 His age might be considered golden. (8)
27 No longer confined to the trappings of royalty, with the rim seen to be broken. (7)
28 It's nothing to fit out a French friend in good shape, according to the paper. (7)
29 See 1 down
30 Another name for Celsius. (10)

DOWN

1, 18 down and 29 across Hurry and put on lipstick for that well-known weekend! (4,2,3,4,4)
2 You could still beat such marks! (7)
3 They don't impair the view, but might imply some amusement. (5)
4 Rope put on right for a particular purpose, but it has to be untangled first. (9)
5 Sees a way, and takes the strain off! (5)
7 First, but last on your single letter of identification. (7)
8 Lady pigs in trouble, and showing it! (10)
9 Curt letters in one of the summer months could imply a turning point. (8)
14 After this, one doesn't practice being tossed out of the drinking place by the sound of it! (10)
16 Settling down comfortably with one that hasn't left home? (8)
18 See 1 down
20 Superlatively 4 down. (7)
22 Such a place might prove rather a danger. (7)
24 It might involve a stick-up, with nothing really valuable found. (5)
25 Hang on to such fruit! (5)
26 Cover up the skin? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1357

ACROSS: 1 Established; 9 and 13 Straight flush; 10 Abroad; 11 Kinetic; 15 Larboard; 17 Shambles; 20 Steady; 22 Uncouth; 24 Politic; 26 Refine; 27 Rekindle; 28 Grasshopper. DOWN: 2 Snare drum; 3 Anguish; 4 Lets; 5 Starter; 6 Early; 7 Strife; 8 Banner; 16 Obedience; 18 Handed; 19 Lathers; 20 Stock up; 21 Drills; 23 Osier; 25 Arch.

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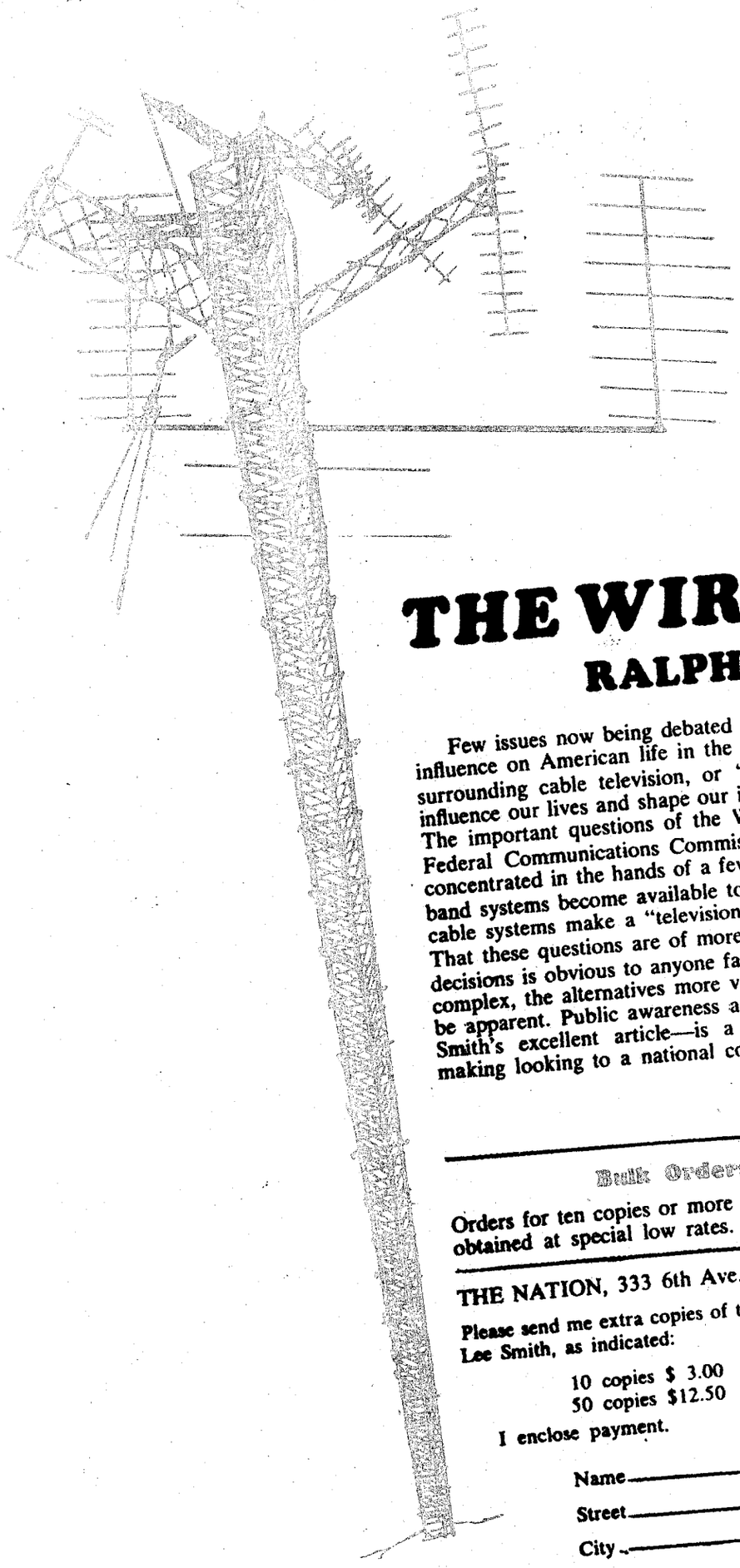

THE WIRED NATION

RALPH LEE SMITH

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The Federal Communications Commission

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